

# Social Order

THE RECESSION'S LESSONS

Francis J. Corrigan

December, 1958

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The Popes On Human Rights

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Protestant Ethical Perspectives

•

Pius XII and Europe

•

Montgomery Story

Books • Comments

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# Social Order

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457	<i>... just a few things</i>	<i>E. D.</i>
458	<b>Lessons from the Recessions</b>	<i>Francis J. Corrigan</i>
465	<b>The Popes on Minority Rights</b>	<i>Sister Frances Jerome Woods</i>
473	<b>Pope Pius XII and European Union</b>	<i>Donald Wolff</i>
481	<b>What <i>Did</i> Confucius Say?</b>	<i>John E. Blewett</i>
485	<b>The Montgomery Story</b>	<i>Philip S. Hurley</i>
487	<b>Protestant Ethical Perspectives</b>	<i>Edward Duff</i>
494	<b>Books</b>	

*An American Amen; The Economics of Underdeveloped Countries; Economic Analysis and Policy in Underdeveloped Countries; Economic Backwardness and Economic Growth; Economic Development; Overpopulation; The Population of Japan; Dictionary of Personnel and Industrial Relations.*

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## ... just a few things:

DECEMBER 10 will be the tenth anniversary of the adoption by the UN's General Assembly of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Catholic press throughout the world has been alerted to the fact by its official observer at the United Nations and has been invited to participate by explaining the significance of the document.

To point to the hideous violations of human rights behind the iron curtain is perhaps the first and instinctive reaction to the announcement of the anniversary. The International Conference of Catholic Charities, one of the Non-Governmental Organizations with consultative status, urged the UN's Economic and Social Council, meeting at Geneva last July, to make better known "the sufferings in practice of those to whom Articles 17 to 27 of the Declaration of Human Rights are still a dead letter." (These Articles include the right to own property, the freedoms of religion, of opinion, assembly and the right to take part in government.) The Declaration of Human Rights has certainly not helped Boris Pasternak, not to speak of the persecuted Christians in Hungary nor the millions of Chinese, uprooted and brigaded into new communes.

The American public's widespread sense of the futility of fine declarations, cynically violated, explains in good measure our government's announcement that it will not present to Congress for ratification the Covenants on Human Rights being drafted to implement the Declaration. (In this decision

the desire to placate the Bricker forces was not wholly absent.)

It should be pointed out that the Declaration of Human Rights is not self-enforcing. It is not a law. It is not a treaty. In its own words, it is a common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping the Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance . . .

A more thoughtful reflection on the significance of the anniversary of the Universal Declaration might suggest some scrutiny of our own performance in the field of human rights, not least in the matter of interracial justice.

Do all Americans, for example, enjoy the right to rent or to purchase homes they can afford? (Articles 17 and 25 of the Declaration) Is free elementary education compulsory (or even available!) for all American children? Is higher education "equally accessible to all on the basis of merit? (Article 26) Do all Americans enjoy fair and equal treatment in finding jobs for which they are qualified? (Article 23) Do all Americans have equal access to parks, restaurants, theatres, transportation and other public accommodations essential to rest and leisure (Article 24) and to free participation in the cultural life of the community? (Article 27)

Such a scrutiny is illumined by the light of the Event of Bethlehem Whose blessings we ask for our readers and friends.

E.D., s.j.

IF A MEDICAL BULLETIN could be issued to describe the condition of the nation's economy today, it might read as follows: "The recessionary fever has been broken and the patient will soon be up and about."

All available evidence points to the fact that the economy is well on the road back from the sharpest—as well as the shortest—recession since the end of World War II. Steel production is up, railroad freight volume is increasing and inventory liquidation has leveled off. Industrial production, for example, which had skidded from 145 (1947-1949 equals 100) in August, 1957 to 126 this past April, had turned back up. And before too many months have passed, economists believe this index will have climbed all the way back to its pre-recession peak.

While not a yardstick of general business activity, the sum total of all goods and services in a given period (Gross National Product) is nonetheless an indicative one. This index which took a \$20 billion plunge from third-quarter 1957 to first-quarter 1958 is also coming back nicely. Already the G.N.P. has topped the annual rate of \$445.6 billion, established in third-quarter of 1957.

As the recovery continues on a broad front and at a good pace, the shape of the recession becomes apparent. Instead of the saucer with a broad, rocky bottom, anticipated by many economists and businessmen, observers are now describing the just-ending business contraction as a "V" recession in contrast to the more customary "U" patterns

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" . . . recovery

## Lessons

made by the extended "bottoming out" periods of most previous recessions. Indications seem to point today to a further climb along the upward leg of the V, though, perhaps, at a somewhat slower pace.<sup>1</sup>

Before the late and unlamented recession is laid to rest, it might be well to ask the question, how did it happen?

As in preceding business setbacks, liquidation of inventories seemed to play a dominant role. After a rapid build-up throughout 1955, 1956 and most of 1957, inventories in relation to sales orders on hand were getting out of hand. As a result, businessmen suddenly stopped building up their stocks of goods and began living off the inventories they already had. From accumulation at an annual rate of \$2.2 billion in the third-quarter of 1957, there was a sharp turn to liquidation at a \$2.3 billion rate in the final quarter of 1957 and a record \$9.5 billion slash during the first-quarter of 1958. The cutback in defense orders in the latter part of 1957 along with tighter controls on

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<sup>1</sup> *Investor's Reader*, Oct. 29, 1958, p. 1.

and economic growth must go a lot farther and higher."

# *from the Recession*

FRANCIS J. CORRIGAN

credit undoubtedly added to the uneasiness.

It is not altogether clear whether reductions in business spending for new plant and equipment (which dropped from the record annual rate of \$37.8 billion in the third-quarter of 1957 to \$30.3 billion in the second and third-quarter of 1958) was prompted primarily by overbuilding and excess capacity or by vanishing customers. In any case, lowered capital expenditures were partly the cause and partly the effect of the recession.

As the recession unfolded, the fear seemed to exist in the minds of many economists, politicians and businessmen that the drop in production—though caused almost entirely by inventory liquidation—would in turn reduce consumer purchasing power and thus consumer sales. Left unchecked, these forces could cause trouble: a sort of cumulative downward spiral engulfing the entire economy could be under way.

Obviously, unless final demand collapses entirely, inventory liquidation cannot go on forever. Inventories can

be lowered with impunity only to a point; then the trend must be reversed. The very rapidity of inventory liquidation against a background of well-maintained personal consumption and consumer demand in most, if not all, fields set the stage for the timing and velocity of the rebound. As a result, the anatomy of recovery is the anatomy of all those forces and events that kept final demand high enough for the "inventory cycle" to run its course and for the normal dynamic factors in the economy to begin to reassert themselves again.<sup>8</sup>

## Rescue forces

With these facts in mind, it is possible at this stage of recovery to analyze some of the forces at work that were largely responsible for helping to pull us out of the slump.

First of all, the nation's "built-in" stabilizers which have evolved over the past quarter century have proved themselves to be quite effective in combating

<sup>8</sup> *New York Times*, Oct. 3, 1958, p. 1.

and preventing deflation. Our government today can press into service a whole battery of economic weapons in an all-out war on business depression. Such things as monetary controls, more stable money supply, bank deposit insurance, stronger banking laws, regulation of stock margin credit, minimum wage laws, supplementary private pensions, federal stockpiling and other public works programs have been singled out by many economists as some of the successful factors in limiting the recession to a relatively small segment of the economy.

### Social security helped

Unemployment compensation is a good example. Unemployment compensation—by tending to maintain some continuity of income to the laid-off worker—undoubtedly played an important role in bolstering demand for goods and services. It made up about one-third of the drop in wage income for those laid off, furnishing \$3 billion to the annual rate of incomes by the second-quarter of 1958.

Old Age and Survivors Insurance was another important income prop. Every day of every week, more people qualify for these benefits. Under this extensive program, the government pays out almost \$10 billion a year. This important "transfer payment" helped provide income maintenance during the recession. Unquestionably, these and other stabilizers proved their value in moderating the effects of the recession.

A contrary view, however, is expressed by Harvard's Professor Sumner Slichter. He believes that the "principal lesson to be learned from the recession

is that the economy is more resistant to contraction than had been suspected"—but for completely different reasons. Slichter rejects the idea that the economy's quick recovery can be explained by the adroit use of fiscal and monetary policies or "built-in" stabilizers. Instead, Slichter gives the main credit to rising hourly wage rates, which brought a continued climb in the wages and salaries of those still at work. This rise—which Slichter estimates at more than \$10 billion—was, he argues, more than twice as important as the increase in the so-called transfer payments such as unemployment compensation.<sup>3</sup>

Whether Professor Slichter is right or not, one fact seems to be clear: the general consuming public never really got scared. This refusal to panic can be explained to some degree by looking at some of the recent shifts which have been taking place in the labor force. The large, relative shift from blue-collar to white-collar jobs, together with the parallel shift out of the more cyclical farming, mining, and manufacturing industries into the more stable trade, government and service fields, gave a far higher proportion of our population a better sense of job security than in previous recessions.<sup>4</sup> While there was some softening in consumer's spending intentions and a measurable deterioration in the purchase of new automobiles and other durables, by and large, the nation's consumers maintained an optimistic frame of mind.

<sup>3</sup> *Business Week*, Oct. 4, 1958, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Unemployment is still disturbingly high (roughly 6% of the labor force). One explanation for this situation is that some of the jobless are concentrated in hard goods industries and one-industry towns and that recovery has not yet picked up enough momentum to call them back to work.

Undoubtedly, this stalwart consumer psychology in not switching money from bank to mattress was a strong factor in preventing the recession from snowballing into something worse.

Before the echoes of this third post-war recession fade away, several of its important lessons should be noted.

### Lessons to be learned

Perhaps the most important one is also the most obvious: our economy is still very much susceptible to the business cycle. Periodic business slumps seem to be the price the nation must pay for a profit-oriented economic system. Short of all-out governmental regimentation, our economy no doubt will continue to experience periodic ups and downs in its inevitable response to the unpredictable vagaries of change.

The second lesson to be learned from the present recession is that the cost of the federal programs employed in fighting business slumps lessens the prospect of lowered taxes. In fact, the cost of these anti-recession programs increases the likelihood of still higher governmental deficits which in turn stimulates the rise in the price level.

Our government gets the lion's share of its revenues from taxes on personal incomes and corporate profits. In a period of pronounced business contraction, these sources of revenue, particularly corporate taxes, tend to fall off. At the same time, the voting public expects the government "to do something" about the business slump. If politicians embark upon a massive

spending program to fight depressions, the result could very well be a rapid increase in the government's deficit.

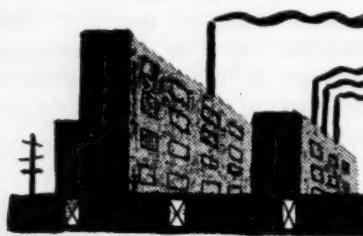
Many individuals express concern today about the state of the government's financial affairs. While the government found it unnecessary to embark upon a crash tax-cutting program to stimulate a business upturn, the government did spend large sums to bring about recovery. Expenditures for the current fiscal year are expected to reach \$79.2 billion while only \$67 billion will be realized in revenue, leaving an anticipated deficit of over \$12 billion. With the arrival of more easy-money legislators in the new Congress, the flood gates of spending are likely to be opened even more.



After witnessing the effects of a string of federal deficits from practically each year since 1931, most people are quite inured to deficit financing. If the expected \$12 billion deficit is financed by sale of government bonds to commercial banks, an enormous expansion in the supply of money will take place. Thus, a dangerous foundation is laid for a faster rise in the price level when the demand for goods and services again begins to press against their supply.

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The nation's housewives are finding that the next lesson of the recession has turned out to be a costly one. In the recession just ending, as in the 1953-54 slump, prices seem to be quite "sticky" and resistant to drops in demand. Except for some price cuts in some sensitive raw commodities and a few other reductions here and there, price cuts were few and far between. In fact, the consumer price index and the cost of such things as transportation and medical care actually rose:



While the stabilizers may be successful in preventing deflation, they also virtually guarantee a long-term rise in the general price level. Throughout much of our history the price level has always tended to advance in times of expansion and fall in succeeding periods of contraction. Thus, by means of this ebb and flow, it was possible to preserve some of the dollar's integrity.

Modern times seem to be different. The present recession, instead of affording an opportunity of wringing some of the inflation out of prices, seemed to lay the base for an even sharper assault on the dollar in the succeeding recovery. The 1957-58 recession is the first downturn in history in which the dollar has continued to lose value. The long-range implications of this trend are as obvious as they are painful.

And that brings us to the final lesson of the now-ending recession: an inflationary fear has spread to large segments of the population. The resurgence of this psychology could adversely affect our future growth and development.

### Inflation's effects

Inflation has dramatically affected the nation's saving and investment habits. In days past, conservative investors were told that safety and stability were to be found in high-grade bonds. Common stocks, except for the most venturesome, were to be avoided. That the nation tended to follow this advice is shown by the first census of stockholders undertaken in 1952 by the New York Stock Exchange. That survey revealed that only 6.5 million individuals—or about six per cent of the adult population of that year—owned any common stocks.

In view of the fact that from the early 1870s through 1951 industrial common stocks had yielded a return of 8.4 per cent (taking capital growth and dividends combined) most observers were surprised that more people had not availed themselves of this highly effective medium.\*

Perhaps this lack of confidence in common stocks can be attributed to those who had previously been "burned" by stock market sell-offs in 1921, 1929 and 1937. Then, too, a large number of Americans (over 50 million of today's population) have tended to color their economic thinking about common stocks by grim depression memories of the bank "holiday," the apple sellers on

\* The David L. Babson investment letter, *Investing for Tomorrow*, July-September, 1958.

the corner and the leaf-rakers in the parks. This deep-seated apprehension that "the bottom might fall out" has kept many individuals completely away from common stocks.

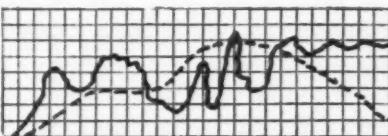
### Stock buying

In view of the stabilizers' success in fighting recession these long-held fears seem to be abating. At the same time, bonds, including United States government obligations, are becoming less popular. Most people in redeeming their Series E Government bonds purchased 10 or 15 years ago are coming to realize that half of the real value of their invested money has been eaten away by the termites of inflation.

The lack of success of recent long-term government financing, together with the uncertainties surrounding the problem of raising the funds to finance the huge federal deficit, has tended to make the swing in bond prices more frequent and more violent. This growing price volatility, coupled with the misgivings of facing an inflated future with a fixed-dollar income return, has caused bonds to lose some of their attraction for today's investors.

Thus, individual investors—including the traditional "widows and orphans" so dear to every investment professor—college endowment funds, investment trusts, pension funds (ten per cent of American Telephone and Telegraph's \$2.6 billion pension fund can now be placed in equities), are heavy buyers of common stocks. To the tune of "happy days are here again," an ebullient stock market has been scaling new heights in its onward and upward climb.

Are all of these developments healthy? Certainly, the fear of inflation is powerful enough today to send the stock market to such lofty peaks. Yet, if the more than \$50 billion which since the beginning of this year has been added to the value of listed common stocks on the New York Stock Exchange is to be justified, the period ahead must be one of vigorous economic growth. If society is to provide jobs, if our economic resources are to be employed in an intelligent manner, an advance in economic activity to well beyond earlier peaks is almost mandatory. Our new "inflation is inevitable, there is nothing one can do about it" psychology provides the makings, not of a safe and sound, vigorous economic growth, but of a dangerous runaway boom. An inflation-inspired diversion of income into excessive speculation or unwise spending is as dangerous as it is foolish.



Unless an inflationary psychosis is checked, people will be less inclined to save. And without a steady stream of savings, the economic growth which insures full employment, rising living standards and national security is almost impossible.

A recent McGraw-Hill economic survey shows the gravity of this problem. The McGraw-Hill economists found that the total expenditures required to wipe out the backlog of obsolete production facilities existing today in the nation's shops and factories

as well as to keep up with the continuing technical advance would amount to at least \$135 billion between now and 1963.

The population increase alone (there are now 175 million Americans) can mean just one thing: greater demand for almost everything. Given the present birth rate, it is estimated that some 45,000 customers are added every week. Past industrial expansion (a gain of about three to four per cent a year) is not only justified; a great new surge of expansion will be needed just to keep pace.

### Soviet challenge

Certainly, two recent developments in the Soviet Union's intensified drive for economic supremacy ought to give Americans something to think about.\*

The Soviet credit to Egypt to help build the Aswan Dam is one indication of growing Soviet economic strength. The other is the news that Premier Khrushchev has speeded up his timetable for Soviet economic development. He is now trying to achieve by 1965 the production goals he had originally sought to attain in 1970.

The United States' production lead over Russia's will this year be the lowest in history both absolutely and relatively. There are two reasons for this alarming development: during the post-war years, Russia has increased its output at a faster rate than the United States and the recession in this country with its heavy impact upon heavy industry coincided with a new spurt in Soviet industrial and agricultural production.

\* See *New York Times*, October 26, 1958, p. E-7.

Steel is a good case in point. Our productive capacity of that basic commodity is almost two and a half times that of the Soviet Union. Yet, last April when more than half of American steel capacity was idle, Soviet steel production was more than 90 per cent of our own. Last year, our country turned out 112,700,000 tons of steel to Moscow's 56,000,000 tons. This year, when our steel output is dropping to about 85,000,000 tons, Soviet production has moved up to 60,000,000 tons, thus narrowing the edge.

For 100 years, this nation has been held up as a model of economic development for the rest of the world. For the first time, our vaunted economic strength has been challenged by another nation that shouts for all to hear that their economic system is better. Thus, Nikita S. Khrushchev told the shipyard workers of Leningrad on November 4:

You probably remember that once we envied the United States as something hard to reach. But now the day is coming when we shall say: "Move aside, we are reaching first place and you take your place behind us." This, comrades, is no vain boasting; in our not-so-distant future, our tomorrow. Our economists are already figuring out on paper when this will happen. . . . The future is ours! The future is for Marxism-Leninism! The future is for communism, comrades!

On political as well as on military and economic grounds, this narrowing gap between American and Soviet production is alarming.

As the nation picks itself up from the recession and starts the upward climb, it is quite obvious that recovery and economic growth has to go a lot farther and higher before the V shape of today's recession stands for Victory.

# The Popes on Minority Rights

SISTER FRANCES JEROME WOODS, C.D.

SAFEGUARDING THE RIGHTS of the individual and of the minority group to which he may belong constitutes one of the most pressing contemporary social problems and modern popes, from Leo XIII to Pius XII, have frequently defined these rights and spoken in defense of them.<sup>1</sup>

The Catholic Church has always exerted a powerful influence over cultural development. The wellspring of this influence lies in her spiritual reservoir. In the words of Pius XII, the Church is the "depository of eternal

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<sup>1</sup> The varying lengths of their pontificates and the historical circumstances of their times account to some extent for the number of references made by the various pontiffs to this subject. Apart from a Catholic action program, for instance, Pius X did not undertake an extensive program of social action; he did, however, summarize and abridge the principles enunciated by Leo XIII pertaining to certain minority rights. See *Fin Dalla Prima*, December 18, 1903. Ideally, papal pronouncements should be read in context and with a knowledge of concurrent historical events but it is not feasible to incorporate historical background in this article. For excellent tabular correlations, see Joseph McSorley, *An Outline History of the Church by Centuries*, Herder, Saint Louis, 1942.

verities" and the "heir to a culture which, permeated and transformed by the teachings of Christ and by the power of his Cross" is "carried over mountain and plain into the homes of prince and peasant alike." This culture—which recognizes man's place in the universe, his origin and destiny, his rights and his responsibilities—gives "a meaning and a finality to the endeavours and accomplishments of his intellectual and moral powers."<sup>2</sup>

Since the Church, then, "received her mission and her vocation for all future times and for all men," she cannot, as a consequence, be associated solely with any specific culture. On the contrary, she is "ready to enter into relations with all cultures" and she "acknowledges and respects whatever in them is not opposed to nature." She has consistently upheld the rights of individuals and of cultural groups when these rights were placed in jeopardy by whatever source. Her mission is to introduce to others the "truth and grace of Jesus Christ" and to endow them

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<sup>2</sup> Address to the American Committee on Cultural Relations with Italy, May 18, 1956, *L'Osservatore Romano*, May 23, 1956, p. 1.

with a "deep-lying affinity" in order to bring about peace.<sup>3</sup>

Over the past 80 years the pontiffs have had many occasions to emphasize and to defend certain basic human rights. Leo XIII discussed at length many of these rights, especially in his encyclical on the condition of the workingman. Pius XI made a summary statement in his encyclical on atheistic communism when he said that man

has been endowed by God with many and varied prerogatives: the right to life, to bodily integrity, to the necessary means of existence; the right to tend toward his ultimate goal in the path marked out for him by God; the right of association and the right to possess and use property.

He adds immediately that "matrimony and the right to its use are of divine origin," and therefore the fundamental prerogatives of the family are fixed and determined by the Creator.<sup>4</sup>

In his Christmas Eve message to the whole world in 1942 Pius XII succinctly enumerated man's fundamental personal rights as follows: "the right to maintain and develop one's corporal, intellectual and moral life and especially the right to religious formation and education; the right to worship God in private and public and to carry on religious works of charity; the right to marry and to achieve the aim of mar-

ried life; the right to conjugal and domestic society; the right to work, as the indispensable means toward the maintenance of family life; the right to free choice of a state of life and hence, too, of the priesthood or religious life; the right to the use of material goods, in keeping with one's duties and social limitations."<sup>5</sup>

To treat all of these rights intensively is beyond the scope of the present article. Particular reference will be made, however, to the pertinent roles of the three major societies—the family, the Church and the state.

### The family

To the family, first of all, belongs the function of cultural transmission and the formation of the child's personality. "Paternal authority," wrote Leo XIII, "can neither be abolished by the state nor absorbed; for it has the same source as human life itself." The child is, "as it were, the continuation of the father's personality; and . . . takes its place in civil society . . . as a member of the family in which it is begotten."<sup>6</sup>

Pius XI affirms the prior right of the family to impart culture to the child:

The family holds directly from the Creator the mission and hence the right to educate the offspring, a right anterior to any right whatever of civil society and

<sup>3</sup> Pius XII, *Vous avez voulu*, Discourse at Tenth International Congress on Historical Sciences, September 7, 1955. *The Pope Speaks*, 2 (Autumn, 1955), pp. 212-213.

<sup>4</sup> *Divini Redemptoris*, "Atheistic Communism," (March 19, 1937), pars. 27-28. See *Quadragesimo Anno*, "Restoring the Christian Social Order," (May 15, 1931), for an extensive treatment of economic rights and *Canti Connubii*, December 31, 1930, for the rights of the family. The encyclicals of Pius XI, annotated and arranged by Joseph Husslein, may be found in *Social Well-springs*, Bruce, Milwaukee, 1942, vol. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Christmas Message*, December 24, 1942, *Catholic Mind*, 41, (January, 1943), p. 55. For another summary statement by Pius XII, see *La Solennità della Pentecoste*, commemorating the 50th anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*, June 1, 1941, quoted in *Principles for Peace*, edited by Harry C. Koenig, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Washington, 1943, p. 727. In the latter source economic rights in particular are stressed.

<sup>6</sup> *Rerum Novarum* (May 15, 1891), par. 11.

of the state, and therefore inviolable on the part of any power on earth.<sup>7</sup>

When the Fascist state was attempting to monopolize the youth for the exclusive advantage of the party, Pius XI issued another encyclical in which he reiterated that a state which makes "the young generation belong entirely to it without any exception" acts contrary to Catholic doctrine and violates the natural right of the family; hence, it is to be condemned.<sup>8</sup>

The state, whatever the form of its government,<sup>9</sup> must take special care "to preserve unharmed and unimpeded that religion whereof the practice is the link connecting man with God."<sup>10</sup>



Thus, when the American Jewish Committee petitioned Benedict XV to complain of the treatment meted out to their fellow Jews during the first World War, the Secretary of State replied that the Church "considers all men as brothers" and that the Pope

never ceases to inculcate among individuals, as well as among peoples, the ob-

<sup>7</sup> *Divini Illius Magistri*, "Christian Education of Youth," (December 31, 1939), par. 31.

<sup>8</sup> *Non Abbiamo Bisogno*, "Catholic Action," (June 29, 1931), par. 57.

<sup>9</sup> Regarding support of particular forms of government, Leo XIII notes that "the Church does not reject any that are fitted to procure the welfare of the subject; she wishes only—and this nature itself requires—that they should be constituted without involving wrong to any one, and especially without violating the rights of the Church." *Libertas Humana*, "Human Liberty," (June 20, 1888), par. 32.

<sup>10</sup> Leo XIII, *Immortali Dei*, "Christian Constitution of States," (November 1, 1885), par. 18.

servance of the principles of the natural law . . . which must be . . . observed and respected in the case of the children of Israel, as well as of others, because it would not be conformable to justice or to religion itself to derogate from it solely on account of divergence of religious confessions.<sup>11</sup>

Similarly, when Orthodox Russians were being persecuted by the newly-established communist regime, Benedict XV instructed his Secretary of State to send to Lenin the following admonition: "The Holy Father adjures you to give strict orders that the servants of every religion be respected."<sup>12</sup> When, following the overthrow of the czars, there was question of the readmission of Russia to the association of nations, Pius XI asked the diplomatic representatives at the Genoa Peace Conference to insist that religious interests be safeguarded in Russia. Specifically, he asked that the following clauses be inserted in the peace treaty: "Full liberty of conscience for all citizens," private and public exercise of religion and worship and also that "religious immovable property which belonged or still belongs to any religious confession whatsoever shall be restored to it and respected."<sup>13</sup>

### Love of country

These limitations on the power of the state do not imply that all nationalism is censured by the pontiffs. "Nay," stated Pius XII, "the Divine

<sup>11</sup> Cardinal Gasparri's reply to the petition of the American Jewish Committee of New York, February 9, 1916. Quoted in Koenig, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

<sup>12</sup> Cardinal Gasparri to Lenin, March 12, 1919. Koenig, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

<sup>13</sup> Memorandum sent by Cardinal Gasparri to the diplomatic representatives at the Genoa Peace Conference, May 15, 1922. Koenig, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

Master Himself gave an example of this preference for His Own country and fatherland, as He wept over the coming destruction of the Holy City.”<sup>14</sup> However, “there is nationalism and nationalism,” noted Pius XI, and while there is “room for a fair and moderate nationalism” that which is exaggerated is a “veritable curse,” and the state engaging in such a nationalism encroaches upon the rights of the individual, the family, and the Church as well as those of minority groups.<sup>15</sup>

Contemporary national states have gone so far as to deny the basic unity of the human race, relegating so-called “inferior races” to enslavement when not forcing them into exile in an attempt to achieve national homogeneity. “It would certainly be an erroneous unification policy—if not actual treachery,” declared Pius XII, to “sacrifice in favor of nationalistic interests the racial minorities who are without strength to defend their supreme possessions, their faith and their . . . culture.”<sup>16</sup>

One of the most serious infringements of human rights, constituting a grave threat to the unity of the human race, is the practice of slavery. In modern times slavery has taken a variety of forms, generally based upon

race and culture. Legalized enslavement, especially, was condemned by Leo XIII in his first encyclical on civil government in which he states that “in the judgment of God, there is neither slave nor free man; that there is one Lord of all, rich ‘to all that call upon Him’.”<sup>17</sup>

In 1888, when Brazil abolished legalized slavery, Leo XIII commemorated the event by an encyclical. The system of slavery, he stated, “is one which is wholly opposed to that . . . originally ordained by God and by nature.” Forgetful of “our common nature, of our human dignity, and of the likeness of God stamped upon us all,” men “followed their evil desires and began to think of other men as their inferiors, and to hold them as cattle born for the yoke.” They did not hesitate to assert that the slave class “was very inferior to the freemen both in intelligence and perfection of bodily development.” Once these “inhuman and wicked doctrines” are accepted, he added, “there is no form of oppression so wicked but that it will defend itself beneath some color of legality and justice.”<sup>18</sup>



That prediction was borne out when, acting on the theories of Comte de

<sup>14</sup> *Summi Pontificatus*, “Exhorting Unity in Opposing World Evils,” (October 20, 1939), par. 44.

<sup>15</sup> Address *Le Missioni e il Nazionalismo* to the students of the College of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome, August 21, 1938. Koenig, *op. cit.*, p. 545. For a more detailed treatment of papal pronouncements on specific minority rights belonging to all men, see the brochure, “Pius XII and Human Relations,” Institute of Industrial Relations, Loyola University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

<sup>16</sup> *Ecce ego declinabo*, Christmas Message of December 24, 1954. *The Pope Speaks*, 2 (First Quarter, 1955), p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> Leo XIII, *Diuturnum*, “Civil Government,” (June 29, 1881), par. 17.

<sup>18</sup> Leo XIII, *In Plurimis*, “Abolition of African Slavery,” (May 5, 1888), pars. 3-4.

Gobineau, Steward Houston Chamberlain and others, Fascist Italy invaded the territory of the dark-skinned Ethiopians and Nazi Germany incarcerated and exterminated "non-Aryans." Both Pius XI and Pius XII vigorously opposed and condemned such practices and the underlying theories. In speaking of conditions in Germany, Pius XI cautioned the German people to be especially alert when the religious conception of "revelation" is used for "whispered inspirations" such as the "myth of blood and race."<sup>19</sup>

When Pius XI learned that racialism had been endorsed in Italy, he sought to define the Catholic standpoint in an address, stating:

The universality of the Catholic Church certainly does not exclude the idea of race, of descent, of nation, of nationality, but the human race, the whole human race, is but a single and universal race of man. There is no room for special races. We may therefore ask ourselves why Italy should have felt a need to imitate Germany.<sup>20</sup>

A few months later, speaking to some Belgian pilgrims, he again expressed the same principle: "Anti-Semitism is inadmissible. We are spiritually Semites."<sup>21</sup>

A decade earlier anti-Semitism had been strongly condemned by this pontiff on the occasion of the suppression of the Association of the Friends of Israel. The decree of the Holy Office contained the following passage:

Moved by this charity the Holy See has always protected this people against unjust vexations, and just as it reprobates all rancour and conflicts between peoples, it

<sup>19</sup>Pius XI, *Mit brennender Sorge*, "The Church in Germany," (March 14, 1937), pars. 20, 27.

<sup>20</sup>Address on Racialism, July 15, 1938, as quoted in Luigi Sturzo, *Church and State*, Longmans, New York, 1939, pp. 523-524.

<sup>21</sup>Address to Belgian pilgrims, September 6, 1938. *Ibid.*, p. 524.

particularly condemns hatred against the people once chosen of God, the hatred that commonly goes by the name of anti-Semitism.<sup>22</sup>

More recently, oppression in Eastern Europe occasioned papal pronouncements. When the people of Hungary, for instance, failed in their attempt to throw off the communist yoke, Pius XII appealed to the whole world in the following words:

Can the world possibly lose interest in these their brothers, and abandon them to a degrading servitude? Surely the conscience of Christendom cannot shake off the moral obligation of trying every useful means of reasserting their human dignity and of restoring their freedom.

We are not unaware of the present intricate relations among nations. . . . But one must listen to the voice of conscience, of civilization, of brotherhood; one must listen to the voice of God Himself, the Creator and Father of all, postponing, even at the cost of great sacrifice, the solution of every other problem . . . in order to solve the elementary and fundamental problem of millions of human lives reduced to slavery.<sup>23</sup>

### Right to migrate

When cultural groups are subjected to the violation of fundamental rights inherent in the human person,<sup>24</sup> they cannot, in justice and charity, be denied refuge. Pius XII acknowledged to members of the U. S. Senate Commit-

<sup>22</sup>Decree of March 25, 1928. *Ibid.*, note, p. 524.

<sup>23</sup>*Allo strazio*, An Appeal for Peace, radio address, November 10, 1956. *The Pope Speaks*, 3 (Spring, 1957), p. 357.

<sup>24</sup>In the recent struggle for equality of minorities in the United States, the local hierarchy has shown itself in accord with papal views in the application of principles. When the New Orleans Association of Catholic Laymen, in a letter to Pius XII, challenged the authority of Archbishop Rummel, the only public reply the letter merited was an editorial voicing "painful amazement" in *L'Osservatore Romano*. See "Rome and New Orleans," *America*, 97 (August 24, 1957), p. 518.

tee on Immigration that "the question of immigration today presents wholly new problems" in that the welfare of the country as well as the interests of the individual may "dictate a law of restriction." But, he continued,

by the same token, circumstances at times almost cry out for an easing of the application of that law. Wise legislation will ever be conscious of humanity and the calamities, distress and woes to which it is heir. Prompted by that spirit of sympathy with the unfortunate, helpless and suffering, . . . you will, we are sure, seek means to alleviate much of it.<sup>25</sup>

Speaking to the American Jewish Committee on this matter, Pius XII stated:

Again and again . . . We have strongly urged fundamental principles of justice and charity, and have long recognized that the practice of offering asylum to those not guilty of crime should be the norm of government conduct toward those whom persecution forces to leave their country.<sup>26</sup>

States which found justification for violations in the doctrine of racial superiority have been censured by the popes. God's law knows no privileges or exceptions, declared Pius XI, and "only superficial minds can lapse into the heresy of speaking of a national God, or a national religion; only such can make the mad attempt of trying to confine within the boundaries of a single people, within the narrow blood stream of a single race, God, the Creator of the world."<sup>27</sup> According to

Pius XII, the human race should be envisioned

in the unity of one common origin in God . . . ; in the unity of nature which in every man is equally composed of material body and spiritual, immortal soul; in the unity of the immediate end and mission in the world; in the unity of dwelling place, the earth, of whose resources all men can by natural right avail themselves, to sustain and develop life; in the unity of the supernatural end, God Himself, to Whom all should tend; in the unity of means to secure that end.<sup>28</sup>

The brotherhood of man and the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ are repeatedly used by the pontiffs to teach this unity. Leo XIII stated that if Christian precepts prevail, all men will be united in the bonds of brotherly love, for "they will understand and feel that all men are children of the common Father, . . . that all have the same end, . . . and are thus united in brotherly ties both with each other and with Jesus Christ."<sup>29</sup>



At the outbreak of the first World War, Benedict XV issued an earnest appeal for peace based on the precept of charity. "Setting aside every difference of race, of language and of interest," he says, Christ

put the self-same prayer on the lips of all: *Our Father Who art in Heaven. . .* Lastly, when hanging on the Cross, He poured out His blood upon us all, so that, as if compacted and joined together in one body, mutual love should be found amongst us, just as mutual sympathy is

<sup>25</sup>Pius XII, Address to Senate Members of Immigration and Nationalization Committee, November 1, 1947, as quoted in "Two Papal Addresses," *Catholic World*, 166 (December, 1947), p. 276. See also the *New York Times*, "Pope Suggests U.S. Should Admit DP's," November 2, 1947, p. 60.

<sup>26</sup>Address to the American Jewish Committee, July 1, 1957. *Pilot*, (July 6, 1957), p. 1.

<sup>27</sup>*Mit brennender Sorge*, op. cit., par. 15.

<sup>28</sup>*Summi Pontificatus*, op. cit., par. 33.

<sup>29</sup>*Rerum Novarum*, op. cit., par. 21.

found amongst the members of the same body.<sup>20</sup>

Speaking to the refugees from Spain during the Civil War, Pius XI referred to the doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ as follows:

Above the bond of humanity and fatherland there is a brotherhood which is infinitely more sacred and more precious, the brotherhood which makes us one in Christ Our Redeemer, our sonship in the Catholic Church, which is the Mystical Body of Christ Himself, the full treasury of all the benefits that our Redemption had brought us.<sup>21</sup>

Pius XII issued an encyclical on the Mystical Body in which he expressed the hope that this doctrine would be acceptable and useful to those outside the fold of the Church. Under contemporary circumstances, he said, when "nation rises up against nation, kingdom against kingdom, and discord is sown everywhere," if men turn to the Church and "contemplate her divinely-given unity—by which all men of every race are united to Christ in the bond of brotherhood—they will be forced to admire this fellowship in charity, and with the guidance and assistance of divine grace will long to share in the same union and charity."<sup>22</sup>

National life, as previously noted, is not a threat to this unity, for "diverse conditions of life and of culture . . .

<sup>20</sup> *Ad Beatissimi*, "Encyclical on World War 1," (November 1, 1914). Koenig, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

<sup>21</sup> *La Vostra Presenza*, allocution to the Spanish refugees, September 14, 1936. Koenig, *op. cit.*, p. 492. See also *Quas Primas*, encyclical of Pius XI on the Kingship of Christ, December 11, 1925.

<sup>22</sup> *Mystici Corporis Christi*, "The Mystical Body of Christ," (June 29, 1943), par. 5. For a later statement of the impact of Christian principles, see *C'est bien volontiers*, "The Church and Culture," (March 9, 1956). *The Pope Speaks*, 3 (Autumn, 1956), p. 162.

enrich and embellish" the human race. The Church "does not think of depreciating or disdaining the particular characteristics which each people, with jealous and intelligible pride, cherishes and retains as a precious heritage." On the contrary, "in evangelizing diverse peoples, the usages and customs . . . not inseparably bound up with religious errors will always be subject to kindly consideration and, when it is found possible, will be sponsored and developed."<sup>23</sup> From the beginning, the Church "has always followed this wise practice: let not the Gospel on being introduced into any new land destroy or extinguish whatever its people possess that is naturally good, just or beautiful."<sup>24</sup> Thus, the Church upholds the right of the minority to the use of its native language in religious practices and education; the clergy, moreover, are obliged to preach to the people in the language which they best understand. Similarly, the Church carefully preserves the distinctive religious rite of a group.<sup>25</sup>

### Minorities elevated

In support of these practices, both Pius XI and Pius XII have raised native sons to the episcopate in many missionary areas. Pius XI personally consecrated in St. Peter's Basilica the first six bishops chosen from among the Chinese people; Pius XII, in an encyclical to the clergy and people of

<sup>23</sup> *Summi Pontificatus*, *op. cit.*, pars. 38-41.

<sup>24</sup> *C'est bien volontiers*, *op. cit.*, p. 163, quoting the encyclical *Evangeli i praecores*.

<sup>25</sup> For a more detailed and documented account, see John Eppstein, *The Catholic Tradition of the Law of Nations*, Chapter XIV, "The Rights of National Minorities," Catholic Association for International Peace, Washington, 1935, pp. 379-395.

China, reaffirmed his desire

that the day may soon come . . . when bishops and priests of your own nation and in sufficient number can govern the Catholic Church in your immense country, and when there will no longer be need of help from foreign missionaries in your apostolate.<sup>38</sup>

At the very beginning of his pontificate, Pius XII consecrated twelve representatives of widely different peoples and races in order to counteract the "disruptive contrasts which divide the human family."<sup>39</sup> Speaking of the apostolate, especially in Africa, he pointed to the final goal of missionary efforts: "The Church should be solidly established among other peoples, and a Hierarchy given to them chosen from among their own sons."<sup>40</sup>



At an earlier time, on the occasion of a national missionary conference in Great Britain, Pius XI emphasized the "brotherly love" whereby all are "brethren in Christ Jesus, Whose power is such that when allowed to take deep root in the heart, all distinctions of nationality are set aside." Catholics imbued with this spirit, he added, "will contribute generously to the support of the Sacred Missions without distinction, just as Christian charity extends to all men whatsoever without distinction of

<sup>38</sup>Ad Sinarum gentem, "The Church in China," (October 7, 1954), pars. 8-9. *The Pope Speaks*, 1 (Fourth Quarter, 1954), p. 399.

<sup>39</sup>Summi Pontificatus, *op. cit.*, par. 43.

<sup>40</sup>Fidei Donum, "Condition of the Catholic Missions, especially in Africa," (April 21, 1957), par. 8. *The Pope Speaks*, 4 (Winter, 1957-58), p. 297, quoting the encyclical *Evangelii praecones*.

race from which they have sprung."<sup>41</sup> They will, moreover, respect all their ministers, regardless of racial or cultural differences.<sup>42</sup>

Benedict XV ranked the lack of mutual love among men as one of the chief causes of war. "Who would think that the nations, thus armed against each other," he asked, "are all descended from one ancestor, share the same nature, belong to the same human family? Who could realize that they are brethren, children of the same Father in heaven?"<sup>43</sup> This pontiff made "every effort," according to his Secretary of State, to mitigate the disastrous consequences of war "without considering any distinctions of party, nationality, or religion."<sup>44</sup>

The difficulties experienced in reaching a peace settlement at the close of the first World War led Benedict XV to issue a number of communiqués on the brotherhood of man and the precept of charity. Thus, in a letter to the Bishops of Germany he asked that the words of St. John be recalled: "He who has the goods of this world and sees his brother in need and closes his heart to him, how does the love of God abide in him?" Each of the bishops

(Continued on page 498)

<sup>41</sup>Letter Cum Tertio to Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster, September 17, 1922, as quoted in Koenig, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-329. See also letter of Benedict XV to Cardinal Béguin, Archbishop of Quebec and other Archbishops and Bishops of Canada regarding contentions based on cultural differences. Eppstein, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

<sup>42</sup>For a report of incidents in the United States, see Stephen P. Ryan, "After Jesuit Bend," *America*, 94 (February 4, 1956), pp. 503-505.

<sup>43</sup>Ad Beatissimi, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>44</sup>Letter of Cardinal Gasparri to Cardinal Amette, Archbishop of Paris, April 23, 1915. Koenig, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

# Pope Pius XII and European Union

DONALD WOLF, S.J.

THE CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY of the Council of Europe opened this year at Strasbourg on October 10. It heard its president pay tribute to Pope Pius XII who had died the day before; then it adjourned as a mark of respect for a firm friend of the European Movement and a tireless advocate of the development of European institutions. It may be useful, while the memory of the late Holy Father's actions is still fresh, to survey the record of that support and the reasons for it.

Pius XII began his pontificate in the crucial year of 1939 when European unity was probably at its lowest ebb in history. The war increased the disintegration of Europe. Peace had always been uppermost in the mind of Pius XII as his chosen motto, "Peace is the work of justice," indicated. This goal demanded, he saw, greater cooperation among the nations of the world; for Europe it meant some form of union.

Pius XII did not wish to advocate any specific plan such as the European Defense Community and the European

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Coal and Steel Community. As the head of the Catholic Church his competence did not extend to specific political and economic plans and systems. Methods of achieving unity His Holiness left to the nations and to their statesmen, a stand he constantly repeated. This had been his constant contention,<sup>1</sup> for Pius XII was concerned that all should understand the position from which he spoke.<sup>2</sup> European union, for our present purposes, then, will not mean any specific practical plan but the general necessity of a united and unified Europe.

The thought of Pius XII on the contemporary problems of European union flowed from a conception of the meaning and basis of Western and European culture. The continuous urgings of Pius XII over the years for a united Europe were based squarely on the connection

<sup>1</sup> "To Roman Correspondents," *Catholic Mind*, 51 (August, 1953), pp. 507-508.

<sup>2</sup> For the extent of the authority of the Church in world affairs, see the two addresses of Pius XII, "Teaching Authority of the Church," *The Pope Speaks*, I (Second Quarter, 1954), pp. 153-158; "The Church and its Power Sanctifying and Ruling," *The Pope Speaks*, I (Fourth Quarter, 1954), pp. 375-385.

between Christianity and the West and Christianity and Europe. For Pius XII Western culture was Christian culture.<sup>8</sup>

He shared Augustine's viewpoint: far from the destruction of Rome being the fault of the Church, it was the Church which saved what could be saved of the glories of Rome and Greece. Nothing was denied Rome and Greece. But it was the Church, in his view, which transmitted the heritage of the pagan world and in the transmission infused into it a new spirit.<sup>9</sup> Whatever of value there is in European culture is dependent upon Christianity.<sup>10</sup>

It is obvious enough that Europe and the West no longer possess the integrating concept supplied by an universal religion. Pius XII did not claim that when Europe was united under one religion and one set of values there were no problems and no disputes. He was far too accurate an historian to make such a mistake. He did, however, assert that the universal set of values mitigated friction and make a spiritual and moral union possible.<sup>11</sup>

The breakup of Europe came first with the breakup of the unity of the Church. Since the Church infused a universal religion and ideals into Europe, as the source disintegrated so did the ideals: "But no one can blame us for

seeing in this schism of religious unity in Germany and in Europe the most disastrous ever that could have overtaken the Christian West and its culture."<sup>12</sup> With the loss of the religious ideal went the loss of the concept of Europe. For gradually not only religion was weakened but even the common concepts of morality were obscured; these had been upheld by religion, though not identical with it. Europe fell with the fall of morality and morality fell with the fall of the Church.<sup>13</sup> From the destruction of morality it was only a short step to a full materialism. This materialism has its grip on the heart of Europe and the West.<sup>14</sup> Pius XII saw the enemies of Western culture waiting to give the final death blow to a Christian Europe, overwhelmed by a disastrous war and suffering the pains of economic and social reconstruction with its attendant disorder and confusion.<sup>15</sup>

### Christian tradition vital

The factor that preserved Christian Europe through the strains of war and reconstruction, Pope Pius XII declared to be the remnants of its Christian tradition. Though sadly diminished and diluted, this tradition explains both the possibility and the reality of reconstruction and progress:

Europe and the other continents are still living, to a varying degree, by the vital forces and principles which the heri-

<sup>8</sup> At times Western culture and European culture are identified in the statements of Pius XII. See "The Church and Culture," *The Pope Speaks*, III (Autumn, 1956), p. 163. At other times a distinction between the two is made. See "The Church and History," *The Pope Speaks*, II (Autumn, 1955), p. 213.

<sup>9</sup> "European Unity," *Catholic Mind*, 51 (September, 1953), p. 562.

<sup>10</sup> "Duties of Catholic Jurists," *Catholic Mind*, 48 (January, 1950), p. 54.

<sup>11</sup> "The Unity of Human Society," (*Summi Pontificatus*), *Catholic Mind*, 37 (November 8, 1939), p. 898.

<sup>12</sup> "Materialism: Threat to Western Culture," *The Pope Speaks*, II (Autumn, 1955), p. 228.

<sup>13</sup> "The Unity of Human Society," *op. cit.*, p. 897.

<sup>14</sup> "The European-American Associations: Aid to Better Understanding," *The Pope Speaks*, II (Autumn, 1955), p. 233.

<sup>15</sup> "Christmas Message on International Peace," *Catholic Mind*, 38 (January 8, 1940), p. 4.

tage of Christian thought has infused into them by a kind of spiritual blood transfusion.<sup>11</sup>

The revitalization of Europe requires, then, a reinfusion of the Christian spirit. It is equally true also that the defense of Christian civilization<sup>12</sup> and the reinfusion of the Christian spirit require the union of Europe.



How is this to be accomplished? It can only be achieved by the peoples of the West themselves. Only if Europeans begin to realize the difficulties and causes of their present troubles will a lasting order be possible. The people of Europe must realize, as some nations of Europe have always known, that the defense of Europe means the defense of the European Christian tradition. The salvation of Europe—a return to the ideals of its birth—depends upon the people.<sup>13</sup>

For Pius XII, then, the West meant the Christian West and, more especially, Europe meant Christian Europe. Ultimately it is Christianity that made Europe to be Europe. Only on the basis of the moral values upheld by Christi-

anity could Europe have become a continent with one tradition, culture and civilization. Therefore the salvation of Europe can only come in a return to these moral and religious values. That is the prime importance of European union. It is in a certain sense a prime requisite for any stable European union. This does not mean that Europe must become Catholic before it can become united. It does mean that it can only be unified on the basis of a Christian moral tradition. At the same time the Christian moral tradition and religion can only again become universal if peace is obtained through the reunion of Europe. There is a mutual causality between the two. They go together.<sup>14</sup>

Such was the meaning of Europe for Pius XII.

### Europe in turmoil

Historically, Europe is Christian Europe and the decline of Europe can be traced fundamentally to the breakup and loss of Christianity. More immediately, however, Europe faces the results of war and the subsequent process of disintegration and division. World War II was the last in the series of events which fragmented Europe. The immediate problem is to put the pieces together again. To put things back the way they were would be foolish. No, something new must evolve from the ferment and turmoil of the war. A better world must somehow be constructed.<sup>15</sup> Something new must arise that is juridically more sound, something better organized and more in har-

<sup>11</sup>"Reconstruction of the World on a True Christian Foundation," *Catholic Mind*, 42 (October, 1944), pp. 578-579.

<sup>12</sup>"Divine Providence in Human Events," *Catholic Mind*, 39 (August 8, 1941), pp. 1-10.

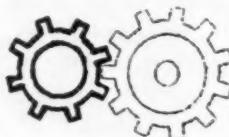
<sup>13</sup>"The True Basis for Peace and Security," *The Pope Speaks*, II (Winter, 1955), p. 313.

<sup>14</sup>"Coexistence: Its Meaning and Its Future," *The Pope Speaks*, II (First Quarter, 1955), p. 12.

<sup>15</sup>"Conditions for a New World Order," *Catholic Mind*, 39 (January 8, 1941), p. 4.

mony with human nature and the real meaning of Europe.<sup>16</sup>

Not only does Europe suffer from the immediate effects of the war; it also faces the external threat of a system which is opposed to the very idea of Europe. If Europe remains in despair and discouragement, it is an easy prey to the revolutionary forces which will



exploit her every weakness.<sup>17</sup> A Europe disunited and discordant, a Europe suffering from economic and social chaos is more readily open to the blan-  
ishments of systems alien to her tradition. The chimera of the ideal state will appear as a treacherous mirage to a Europe whose vision is clouded by disorder<sup>18</sup> Some nations, of course, play a more important part in the recon-  
struction of Europe than others but the problem is a European one.<sup>19</sup>

To a limited degree Europe, in the judgment of Pius XII, had begun to recognize this fact. The various partial achievements of unity bear witness to that fact.<sup>20</sup> The movement toward a

new Europe is already underway. Some change must and will be made: the wave of change brought on by the war and the sufferings of so many people will not be stopped. The problem is one of canalizing this irresistible pres-  
sure into useful channels. Thus there is a great responsibility on the various European nations and their statesmen to bring about this new unity and order in accordance with the great European tradition.<sup>21</sup>

This general movement toward greater unity accords with the meaning of Europe as understood by Pius XII. The requirement of the hour in Europe is for a greater political and economic unity; the need is for a fully politically integrated Europe. There was no question about the mind of Pius XII:

In any case, if today's politicians are con-  
scious of their responsibility, if statesmen work for the unification of Europe, for peace in Europe and peace throughout the world, the Church, indeed, does not remain indifferent to their efforts. Rather she upholds them with all the might of her sacrifices and prayers.<sup>22</sup>

But the Church does more than simply approve. She also demands and exhorts. She is so much in favor of European union that she is impatient of delays.<sup>23</sup>

### Changed attitudes needed

If such a union is to take place, cer-  
tain attitudes of the European nations will be necessary. There must, of course, be justice in the dealings be-  
tween nation and nation, a natural re-

<sup>16</sup>"Reconstruction of the World on a True Christian Foundation," *Catholic Mind*, 42 (October, 1944), p. 578.

<sup>17</sup>"On the Problems and Dangers of Our Day," *Catholic Mind*, 45 (August, 1947), p. 450.

<sup>18</sup>"Pope Pius' Christmas Address, 1947," *Catholic Mind*, 46 (February, 1948), p. 74.

<sup>19</sup>The preeminence of Germany in the solu-  
tion of the problems of Europe was recog-  
nized by Pius XII. See "The Social Prob-  
lem," *Catholic Mind*, 47 (November,  
1949), p. 702.

<sup>20</sup>"Private Law and Its Coordination," *Catholic Mind*, 48 (December, 1950), p. 755.

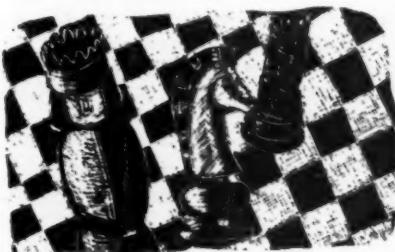
<sup>21</sup>"The City's Role in Fostering Interna-  
tional Harmony," *The Pope Speaks*, II  
(Winter, 1955), p. 377.

<sup>22</sup>"To Members of Pax Christi," *Catholic  
Mind*, 51 (September, 1953), p. 565.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*

quirement and prerequisite. There must also be a mutual esteem of the nations of Europe for each other. It is unthinkable that the nations of Europe should join together in an integral and organic union unless they respect the value, history and traditions of the individual nations. Even then a great deal will depend upon a mutual trust, an essential element if the numerous problems that will arise in the actual unification and reorganization of Europe are to be surmounted. If France, for historical causes, has no trust in the word and intentions of Germany, there is no possibility of any real union. The same is true of Germany *vis-à-vis* France and of all the nations with respect to each other. A real feeling and sense of unity and an understanding of the meaning of Europe is primary.

The Pope was not so naive as to think that there are no problems involved. Not only are there problems but there is a definite risk to be taken, one without real certitude of eventual success.



Any one of a number of difficulties plaguing Europe today (and some are centuries old) could easily wreck the plans for European union. This prospect should not lead to dropping plans for union. On the contrary, nothing is

gained in the political order without risk. The attempt to order European affairs should be made.<sup>24</sup>

A reasonable delay following the war was understandable to Pius XII: a proper psychological atmosphere does not create itself. But too much time has already gone by. It should not be necessary for the war to become a distant and vague memory before moving on to European union. On the contrary, the painful experience of the war should lead the nations of Europe to lay aside selfish national prepossessions and jealousies and hates. The war should make the nations more willing to unite for their common defense.<sup>25</sup>

#### Economic disparity

One of the real problems to be faced is the economic disparity between the various European nations. It is all too easy for one nation, politically and economically predominant, to use its power to destroy all economic competition. A united Europe will mean real concessions on the part of certain European nations. It will mean the transfer of industries, changes in manpower distribution and skills. This will involve dislocations for certain industries and regions. The short-term economic effect of union may be disadvantageous in certain sectors. As His Holiness noted:

To enter into a broader community is never possible without sacrifice, but it is needful and urgent that men should un-

<sup>24</sup>"Christmas Eve Address," *Catholic Mind*, 52 (March, 1954), p. 181.

<sup>25</sup>"For a United Europe," *Catholic Mind*, 47 (February, 1949), p. 116. This and the address already cited, "European Unity," are the most complete and explicit single statements by Pius XII on European Union.

derstand this to be an inescapable, and in the long run, beneficial development.<sup>26</sup>

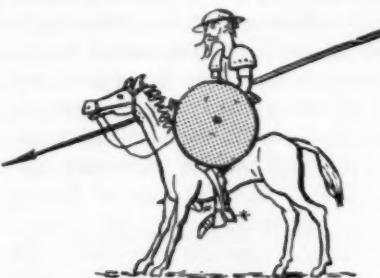
Pius XII believed that "at this juncture it would perhaps be opportune to examine whether or not a regional union of different national economies would render possible a more efficacious development of the forces of production."<sup>27</sup> For those who suffer a certain temporary economic loss in the process of unification, there is no economic answer. There is only the larger picture to be kept in mind and the immediate good which must be foregone for the sake of the community as a whole:

It will be necessary, therefore, to persuade public opinion in each country, to accept sacrifice, perhaps permanent ones, to explain the necessity for them and, in spite of them to arouse the people's desire to remain united with other countries and to continue to help them.<sup>28</sup>

### Nationalism an encumbrance

Another problem facing European union is that of nationalism. The nations of the continent each have long histories full of past glories and achievements. It is quite natural to look to the past and be hesitant about merging one's future with that of other nations. This question of nationalism is a serious one. And the Pope was the first to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the various national groups. In fact, he asserted that a union which does not allow for a great degree of inner diversity would be unbearable. He in-

sisted that "a point which should be given particular attention if a better arrangement of Europe is sought, concerns the real needs and just demands



of nations and peoples as well as of ethnical minorities. . . ."<sup>29</sup> And, although the instrument of European political unity must have real authority over the individual nations, it must have it in such a way "that each of them retains an equal right to its own sovereignty."<sup>30</sup>

Despite the legitimate place of national interests, the Pope pointed to the need of a common supranational policy:

A common European external policy, susceptible of differences according to the international organization in which it is pursued, . . . is becoming essential in a world now falling more and more into comparatively compact groups.<sup>31</sup>

Pius XII emphasized the distribution between a legitimate nationalism and nationalistic politics. The latter cannot be the basis of European union.<sup>32</sup> The

<sup>26</sup>Address to the Common Assembly of the European Coal and Steel Community, November 4, 1957, taken from *His Holiness Pope Pius XII on Europe*, Catholic Information Office, Strasbourg.

<sup>27</sup>"Christian Principles of International Trade," *Catholic Mind*, 46 (July, 1948), p. 423.

<sup>28</sup>"European Unity," *op. cit.*, p. 561.

<sup>29</sup>Christmas Message on International Peace," *Catholic Mind*, 38 (January 8, 1940), p. 6.

<sup>30</sup>Pius XII and Democracy: *Christmas Message*, December 24, 1944, Paulist Press, New York, 1945, p. 15.

<sup>31</sup>Address to the Congress of Europe, June 13, 1957 from *His Holiness Pope Pius XII on Europe*, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>32</sup>"Coexistence: Its Meaning and Its Future," *The Pope Speaks*, II (First Quarter, 1955), pp. 10-11.

balance between national states and regional unity is a difficult one to strike. The fundamental principle involved, however, is evident enough. It is diversity with order. The same basic principle should be respected on the national, regional and the international levels. The coordination of Europe must not be a leveling process.

Granting the difficulties to greater union, certain things can be done to advance its coming. Of these the most important is knowledge. All the peoples of Europe should be made aware of the difficulties involved, of the advantages to be gained and of the features of the various plans proposed. Once the peoples of Europe really know what is involved, progress toward union can be hoped for. Everything which can be used to publicize European union, therefore, is of great value.<sup>53</sup>

Economic advantages and the fear of external threats do not offer a sufficient reason for a lasting union. Neither can a common defense be the fundamental basis for union. It can help to show people the need for union but of itself it cannot sustain unity.<sup>54</sup> For a common defense is based on fear, an essentially negative emotion. Besides, fear is a violent emotion and cannot be sustained over a long period of time. Inevitable relaxation sets in after awhile even though the danger itself may remain.

The only motives that can sustain a permanent union are spiritual and immaterial values. In the mind of Pope Pius this in the last analysis meant

religion. To repeat: Pius XII did not teach that Europe must be converted before its unity would be possible. He did, however, insist that a return to Christian moral values is essential if such a union is to endure. The immediate basis for union is the idea of natural law. The true basis is

... a love of the liberty willed by God and in accord with the needs of the common good, or else, the ideal of natural law, as the foundation of an organization of the state and of states.<sup>55</sup>

This ideal of natural law is not an abstraction; it exists in the minds of men. It is to human beings that the appeal must be made.<sup>56</sup>

### Disappointments

Despite this exalted idea of European union which Pius XII elaborated and his confidence that the ideal would be realized, the Pope was forced to admit several grave disappointments. The movement was progressing so slowly that he began to wonder if it was not already too late. Certain practical failures made more clear some of the requirements and difficulties. In 1953 the Pope admitted the temporary setback of the movement and also the reasons for such a defeat:

In particular, the practical realization of European unity—which everyone felt was urgently needed and toward which everyone was instinctively drawn—came up against two major obstacles: one inherent in the structure of the State, the other of a psychological and moral nature. The first reflects a number of economic, social, military and political problems. The nations that want to unite find themselves in different positions in regard to natural resources and industrial develop-

<sup>53</sup>"The European Television Network: Symbol and Promise," *The Pope Speaks*, I (Second Quarter, 1954), pp. 163-164.

<sup>54</sup>"European Unity," *op. cit.*, p. 561.

<sup>55</sup>"Coexistence . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 11.

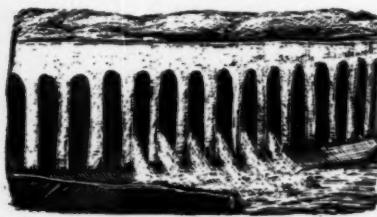
<sup>56</sup>"For a United Europe," *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118.

ment, as well as in matters of social achievement. They can begin a common life only after they have found a means of maintaining the equilibrium of the whole.

But, far more important, is the demand for what is called the European spirit, a consciousness of inner unity based not on the satisfaction of economic needs, but on the understanding of common spiritual values, an understanding clear enough to justify and keep alive the firm resolve to live united.<sup>57</sup>

And two years later, after other setbacks, this second reason became in his eyes paramount:

The Conference of Geneva of last July, which at its opening aroused so many hopes in the world, has brought to light the depths of the dissension among nations, and the difficulty which often exists in finding a way towards its healing.



It is essential to turn attention to the ever more extensive and deeper aspects of the psychology and character of nations, on the internal motives and differences which they reveal, and, at the same time, on the conflicts to which they can, and in fact too often do, lead. It is obvious that the preliminary study of these problems is fundamental to the work of peace just as there are very important advantages to be gained by observing the changes of thought and sentiment to which nations are subject.<sup>58</sup>

Despite continued disappointments the Pope did not lose hope. He continued his exhortation on behalf of the movement. In line with his concept of

<sup>57</sup>"European Unity," *op. cit.*, p. 560.

<sup>58</sup>"International Reconciliation," *The Pope Speaks*, II (Winter, 1955), p. 316.

a Christian Europe and as head of the Catholic Church, he placed the greatest reliance in and assessed the greatest responsibility upon Catholics:

... Catholics are saddled with a great responsibility. They above all, that is to say, must realize that they are called upon to overcome every vestige of nationalistic narrowness, and to seek a genuine fraternal encounter of nation with nation.<sup>59</sup>

### Champion of unity

Of all the statesmen working so diligently for the establishment of peace and the unity of Europe none had a more fully balanced and comprehensive view than Pope Pius XII. He brought to his analysis of the question a deep historical understanding of Europe's past. To this he added a vast knowledge of the place of religion and Christianity in the life of men and nations, especially of the nations of Europe and the West. His knowledge was neither visionary nor utopian; it was tempered by a full realization of the many practical difficulties and obstacles involved. As perhaps the only truly impartial force in the world, the Pope held an ideal position to help overcome the many nationalistic problems of Europe. His personal prestige made him a powerful force in favor of European union.

The Catholic Information Office on European Problems, located at Strasbourg, has published a brochure

### HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS XII on Europe (1949-57)

Copies of this brochure will be sent to our readers gratis on request to SOCIAL ORDER.

<sup>59</sup>"Catholics and International Life," *Catholic Mind*, 51 (September, 1953), p. 564.

# What DID Confucius Say?

JOHN E. BLEWETT, S.J.

AS YOU STROLL toward the Butler Library on the campus of Columbia University, you are strongly reminded of the Graeco-Roman roots of Western culture. For there, high up before your roving eye, the names of Homer, Herodotus, Sophocles, Demosthenes, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Virgil band the concrete architrave. The *non totus moriar* of another Roman immortal floats to the surface of your memory. You stand for a moment, perhaps, hushed in meditation on the power and pull of this galaxy of giants whose splendor, though perhaps dimmed, can never be extinguished by the birth of later intellectual stars.

Within eyeshot of Butler Library another set of immortals engaged the working hours of some 150 educators in mid-September. The occasion was a two-day conference on Oriental Classics in General Education, sponsored by the Columbia College General Education Program in Oriental Studies and ably directed by the genial coordinator of the program, Professor William The-

*Father Blewett returns to his teaching post at Sophia University, Tokyo, soon.*

dore De Bary. Few, if any, of the delegates would have demurred at the gracious expression of gratitude to Columbia and Professor De Bary with which Professor Allan Cole of Harvard concluded the last meeting. Even professional conference-goers were impressed, as I heard one delegate put it, by the "all meat and no bone" of the sessions.

Undoubtedly, the importance of the central problem of the conference—the need for understanding of, and some acquaintance with, Oriental cultures and civilizations by the liberally educated of a multi-cultural world—accounted in part for the high quality of the papers and the pertinence of the discussions. This was definitely not a meeting of Sinologists hacking their way through the underbrush of disputed meanings of Han texts. Nor was it an outing for dilettantes anxious to pick up smatterings of exotic lore for the next cocktail party.

Specialists in Oriental languages and literature were present, some of the most eminent in the world. The bulk of the delegates, however, were teach-

ers, driven by continuing study in their own field to an awareness of the place of Oriental classics in a program of liberal education. Several of the principal speakers and many of the discussants prefaced their remarks with "Though not an Orientalist myself."

A breakdown of the delegates according to their teaching fields revealed that over 20 were in history; more than 15 in English and Graeco-Roman literature; 10 or more in the respective fields of philosophy, religion, and the social sciences. A surprisingly large number came from smaller colleges, loosely describable as in the liberal education tradition. That Catholic college administrators are not wholly oblivious of the fatuity of ignoring the literary, philosophical, religious and artistic achievements of the great Asian cultures in liberal education was attested to by the 14 delegates from Catholic institutions. Whatever the reason, five of the Catholic delegates are professors of English literature.

They, and others with no special training in Oriental languages, were reassured by Mark Van Doren (whose paper was summarized in his absence) that the real teacher can explore the *Analects* of Confucius and the *Bhagavad Gita* with his students and seize upon much of the thought. Speaker after speaker, scholars of Greek, Arabic, Sanskrit, Pali, Japanese, and Chinese, developed this theme. All conceded the desirability of knowing enough of the original language to control a translation; none denied that it is better to listen to Krishna in English than not to hear him at all.

The renowned Greek scholar, Moses Hadas, confessed that years previously

he had doubted the value of courses in "Greek Classics in Translation." He was converted, he explained, when students who were studying Euripides in English turned in examination papers that showed as intelligent a grasp of the drift and meaning of the text as that of his protégés studying the Greek text. An Arabic scholar adverted to the achievement of Aquinas and Averroes in picking their way through inferior translations to a not unappreciable understanding of Aristotle. Finally, Hu Shih in an autobiographical vein recounted that he and many of his generation were transported to a new world by the flowing Chinese translations of Conan Doyle and other English novelists by a man who was completely innocent of English! (This pre-Univac wizard took the rough, oral translations of a corps of assistants and turned them into literary Chinese.)



In his paper on "Education in a Multi-cultural World" Father Thomas Berry of Seton Hall struck off some of the more cogent reasons for today's undergraduate to go beyond *Growing Up in New Guinea* or *The Andaman Islanders* in his study of other cultures. Though acquaintance with the achievements of other cultures does not necessarily beget friendship (as too many proponents of cultural exchange seem to presume), refusal to explore those

achievements is a denial of the humanist tradition of *Nil humani mibi alienum*. Ultimately, the most compelling reason for studying the *Upanishads* or living through a Noh drama is that they can unleash the mind from pettiness and prejudice and allow it to develop intelligent sympathy for that forked carrot, man.

Another of Father Berry's themes recurred in one way or other in later comments: the need for Western students of Oriental classics to know thoroughly their own tradition. The cultural illiterate and the *déraciné* both live on the fringes of the truly human life.

The two opening papers were followed by nine studies on particular classics or on types of Oriental literature, the *Qur'an* and Ibn Khaldun's *History* from the Arabic-speaking world; the *Upanishads* and the drama, *Shakuntala*, of Kalidasa from the Sanskrit world; a comparison of Greek and Indian drama; the Confucian *Analects*, the Buddhist *Lotus Sutra*, and the popular novel from the Chinese tradition; the *Tale of Genji* from Japan.

From among these excellent studies I was particularly impressed with that on Ibn Khaldun, presented by Muhsin Mahdi of the University of Chicago, for it centered on some of the difficulties confronting a modern American (whose model for thinking is drawn all too frequently from a scientific tradition) when he bites into a work rooted in an Aristotelian tradition. The facile reader, Mahdi pointed out, is often captivated by the seeming modernity of the critique of culture found in the opening sections of the *History*. Only as he thrusts beyond his initial im-

pressions does he discover that the "science" of Ibn Khaldun has little relation with "scientific" studies of man à la Kinsey or Adorno. Only if the student is willing to substitute for the modern distinction between "fact" and "value" a more ancient one between "event" on the one hand and "opinion" and "knowledge" on the other will he meet Ibn Khaldun on the level of his own cultural analysis.

#### **Teacher's role central**

The power to transcend one's cultural limitations exists, I suppose, in every man. Usually, however, it takes the gifted teacher with his sympathetic identification with the hopes and aspirations of men long dead to touch that power to active life. The teacher is the wizard who can help the student recreate the "before" and "after" of a classic from a strange tradition so that the strangeness no longer repels nor raises a smile of complacent pity but allures the student to meet a fellow human, distant only in time. This does not mean, the delegates were reminded by the gifted translator of Japanese drama, Professor Keene, that minute socio-economic reconstructions of the Heian era must precede the enjoyment of reading the *Tale of Genji*. It does require that the teacher be himself human, aware of his own culture with its peaks and troughs and not dull to the many-faceted but not wholly dissimilar needs and aspirations of men across space and time.

The two concluding papers of the conference brought the delegates back to classroom and administrative battle-fields. Questions and discussion turned

on prosaic but meaningful points concerning selection of materials for a course in comparative literature; the better translations of some of the standard Oriental classics; ways of enlisting the support of interested but somewhat puzzled colleagues; the reluctance of even superior students to think of India in terms other than of bejeweled elephants, dancing goddesses, or perhaps Gandhi and Nehru. In comparing their experiences delegates learned, for example, that a group of small colleges in the liberal education tradition is hoping to share a professor of Oriental literature; he will be available for teaching as well as for guiding faculty members in search of help on some Oriental work in their own field. They learned, too, of the increasing number of internships in Oriental studies for professors of English, history, philosophy and other subjects.

Finally, those who were unacquainted with the splendid series, *Introduction to Oriental Civilizations*, published by Columbia University Press under the general editorship of Professor De Bary, were introduced to the first volume, *Sources of the Japanese Tradition*. The prospectuses for the *Sources of the Indian Tradition*, to be published this fall, and for the *Sources of the Chinese Tradition*, now in preparation, indicate that the high quality of the work on Japan will mark the other two volumes as well. Armed with these three works and with an humble awareness of their own lack of personal depth in the field, professors of history throughout the country will be equipped to join with their more enterprising students in dispelling some of their ignorance of the "inscrutable" Orient.

As I reflected on the Conference in odd moments between sessions and afterwards, I could not help but recall the wonder of a great Renaissance humanist as he reflected on the grandeur of man, mirrored in rediscovered cultures of Greece and Rome. "Man, the chameleon!" Pico exclaimed. Alien to the brute about him in his power to make his own decisions, to style his own culture, man is that amazingly gracious Chinese whom Ricci introduced to modern Western thought; that eagle blinking in the splendor of the One, whose sacred books and wisdom de Nobili studied with his Hindu masters; that witness to the transcendence of God, schooled by Mohammed.<sup>1</sup>

In the European experience of the Renaissance the barbarian was marked by his inability or unwillingness to share in the masterpieces of Greece and Rome. In an age when cultures formerly remote on the space-continuum are thrusting in upon us, is the new barbarian to be he who entombs himself in his ignorance of the imperishable riches of Asia? Is he to perpetuate the tradition of those who have learned of Confucius through the comic strips and "Confucius say" adages? Opportunities in the better colleges throughout the country are multiplying for those who want to learn what Confucius really did say.

<sup>1</sup> For those unacquainted with the truly extraordinary achievements of the 16th-century Italian Jesuit, Matteo Ricci, Vincent Cronin's competent study, *The Wise Man from the West* (E. P. Dutton, New York, 1955), is recommended. A chapter in Father Robert Nash's *Jesuits: Biographical Essays* (Newman Press, Westminster, Md., 1956), entitled "A Jesuit Brahmin," carries a very brief account of De Nobili's culture-spanning activities in 17th century India.

## Books

# THE MONTGOMERY STORY

Philip S. Hurley, S.J. •

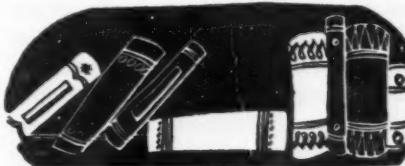
*Father Hurley is Moderator of the Campus Interracial Council at Fordham University.*

*Stride Toward Freedom*<sup>1</sup> is not only the story of a famous boycott, told with directness and a sense for the dramatic; it is also an enlightening and informative guide to many phases of race relations. Dr. King is not only the inspirational leader of an aroused populace; he is a calm philosopher as well, reflecting in detached, objective fashion over the deep currents of thought and motive that underlie "our greatest national problem."

The narrative portions move rapidly, beginning with the arrest of Mrs. Rosa Parks for failure to comply with bus regulations, the summoning of Negro citizens on the part of civic and religious leaders, the decision to stage a boycott, the ingenuity in arranging motor-pools, the mounting anxieties and tensions as everyone watched the empty buses roll by, crafty maneuvers by the opposition to break the morale of the Negro forces by threatening telephone calls at all hours, bombings, arrests, reprisals of every sort until the final stroke of official triumph, the ver-

dict of the Supreme Court of the United States declaring Alabama's laws requiring segregation on buses unconstitutional.

Much careful thought, however, had preceded action, in fact years of pondering. A long chapter relating Dr. King's own progressive study of non-violent resistance indicates that he appreciated the necessity of thoughtful exploration of principles before ap-



proaching any such effort toward a solution of racial differences. The thinking of undergraduate days at Morehouse College, his reading of Thoreau's *Essay on Civil Disobedience*, his study of various schools of theological and philosophical thought, his definite rejection of Marxist communism, culminating in his attraction to the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi, all reveal that Dr. King's settled judgment on the moral justification of the boycott issued from principles of a high order.

<sup>1</sup>STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM. *The Montgomery Story*. By Martin Luther King, Jr. Harper, New York, 230 pp. \$2.95

Some of the conclusions he reached along the way would not find universal acceptance. Gandhi was certainly not the "first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus to a social force." (p. 97) It is a very inadequate view, indeed, which would limit the exercise of Christian charity to mere "interaction between individuals" only, yet one can understand why Dr. King's Protestant clerical training, stopping at the bare morality of the Sermon on the Mount, would fail to discover the social implications of the teachings of Christ. "Prior to reading Gandhi," he tells us, "I had about concluded that the ethics of Jesus were only effective in individual relationship."

### Dedicated service

Whatever the route by which he arrived at his conclusions, there is no mistaking the deep hold that love of neighbor had for this minister of religion. It is not surprising to see him and his wife decide that "our greatest service could be rendered in our native South . . . since racial discrimination was most intense in the South." Early convictions gained new emphasis as the Montgomery story unfolded. "Those who can best lead the South out of its social and economic quagmire are her native sons." (p. 202) "The South, after all, was our home. We felt that some of the Negroes who had received a portion of their training in other sections of the country should return to share their broader contacts and educational experience." (p. 21) These same convictions enabled him to recognize "the tragic division in the Negro community itself," and how it was "crip-

pled by the indifference of the educated group." "Too much of the inaction was due to sheer apathy." On the part of his fellow-ministers inaction and complacency stemmed from the viewpoint that religion had no concern with social conditions.

For all who seek some solution to America's race problem a number of judicious observations are to be found in these pages. The value of Montgomery's Council on Human Relations stood out because it "served to keep open the desperately needed channels of communication." Legislation must be supported by education: "government action is not the whole answer to the present crisis, but it is an important partial answer." "Law itself is a form of education. The words of the Supreme Court, of Congress, and of the Constitution are eloquent instructors . . . The habits if not the hearts of people have been and are being altered by federal action."

Throughout Dr. King's account there is evident a marked desire to abide by the law, a constant solicitude to maintain the boycott on a level of dignified protest and well-mannered respect for law-enforcement. Perhaps this aspect carried the most valuable lesson for the country; there is no question that it won the admiration of the entire world and explains the subsequent contributions that poured in from all quarters as well as the letters of good-will and commendation. Along with the resourcefulness displayed and the cheerful acceptance of inconveniences on the part of those who conducted the boycott, their high moral outlook is the most instructive feature of the Montgomery story.

## PROTESTANT ETHICAL PERSPECTIVES

Edward Duff, S.J.

•

*Father Duff is the author of The Social Thought of the World Council of Churches.*

"THEOLOGY," writes Robert McAfee Brown, editor of a new Protestant series, "The Layman's Theological Library,"

is not an irrelevant pastime of seminary professors. It is the occupation of every Christian the moment he begins to think about or talk about or communicate his Christian faith. The injunction to love God with *all his mind* necessarily involves the layman in theology. He can never avoid theology; if he refuses to think through his faith, he simply settles for inferior theology.

Professor Brown's well-phrased truth aptly introduces this cursory examination of some recent Protestant books on social ethics. The examination is undertaken to make more effective the common effort for temporal goals so frequently encouraged by the late Pope Pius XII. Such a collaboration supposes a mutual understanding of the bases of moral analysis and the springs of attitudes of the participating religious groups.

*Making Ethical Decision* by Howard Clark Kee (Westminster, Philadelphia, 96 pp. \$1) makes clear from the outset the essential individualism of the Protestant ethos, its native abhorrence of abstract principles when confronting moral challenges. The Professor of New Testament at the Theological School of Drew University is definite about it: "There simply are no commonly accepted rules in Protestantism for making ethical decisions."

Dr. Kee continues: "In practice, the criteria for Protestant behavior are determined as much by the social and moral standards of the church members as they are by appealing to any consciously Christian standards." A quick—and therefore unfair—reading of the sentence might suggest that the average behavior of the commonality of people constitutes a satisfactory standard, a theory most notably espoused by the late Dr. Alfred Kinsey. No, Dr. Kee rather means (to the point of italicized emphasis) that the fellowship of believers furnishes help in making ethical decisions and strength to support one's convictions. In addition to the resource of the consensus of the Christian community, the author appeals to the Bible not as a textbook supplying answers but as "providing insights into man's relations to God and his responsibility to man." The palpable weakness of such a resource, when private judgment is legitimatized, is clear from the example of divorce, a topic on which, according to Dr. Kee: "The majority of Protestants, however—if they stop to think about it—regard Jesus' words as a counsel of perfection," like the exhortation to turn the other cheek.

In sum, the Protestant ethos emphasizes the loneliness of the individual in his personal confrontation of Christ's ideal amid the moral ambiguity of all

means; it stresses the inescapably personal character of all responsibility; it insists that loyalty to the loving Lord is at once the single moral test, the unique motivation of all moral action and the sole reward of moral behavior.

*Christian Ethics* (Abington, Nashville, Tenn., 240 pp. \$3.75) by Georgia Harkness, professor of applied theology at the Pacific School of Religion and an ordained Methodist minister of impressive learning, discusses for "the ordinary person seeking light on his daily task" the biblical foundations for Christian decisions in the areas of self and society, marriage and the family, economic life, race relations, the state and international order, and religion and culture from "a comprehensive frame of reference." The frame of reference is "the way of life set forth by Jesus Christ applied to the daily demands and decisions of our personal existence." Such a standard would seem to have no place for natural reason; it would seem to relegate its use to the category of

"coalition ethics" in which natural law and the insights of Plato, Aristotle and other great philosophers are drawn upon to supplement Christian ethics in areas where the gospel gives no specific directives.

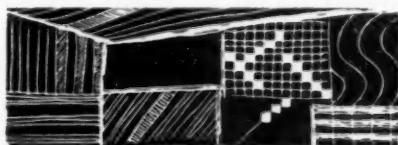
Seemingly this is not so. For Dr. Harkness is clear that "the Bible *alone* does not give us all we need." "What," she asks, "about slavery, birth control, juvenile delinquency, polio, speeding on the highways, labor unions, stock-market manipulations, hydrogen bombs and war?" Although the Bible gives us the basis for our moral analysis, it does not give us the applications. In making concrete moral decisions we must look, Dr. Harkness observes, for

guidance "to other ranges of experience that may throw light on problems non-existent in Bible times or not treated within its scope," a perfect paraphrase, it would seem, of St. Thomas Aquinas' definition of the role of practical reason. Have the disavowed "coalition ethics" slipped in by the back door?

Such a perspective, coupled to a devout spirit and a humane mind, yields analyses of our present day moral involvements and offers counsel for moral action whose familiar wisdom would commend itself to our readers—exception being made in the matter of the family where Catholic teaching is misstated ("The Roman Catholic Church . . . holds that procreation is the only legitimate purpose of sexual intercourse") and where divorce and contraception are admitted, seemingly in a spirit of defeat. The chapter on economic justice is, as in most ethics manuals, irritatingly vague; the examination of the role of religion in public education displays the permanent American Protestant dilemma: a realization that "an intellectual vacuum" exists in the exclusion of the elements of "the Judaeo-Christian tradition which has done more than anything else to shape our culture" and, simultaneously, an espousal of a doctrine of separation of church and state making such an exclusion mandatory.

While Georgia Harkness would forward the goals of the earlier Social Gospel movement in American Protestantism (but deepening its dogmatic roots), Carl F. H. Henry, author of *Christian Personal Ethics* (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Mich., 615 pp. \$6.95) systematically challenges both the theological premises and the political pos-

ture of liberal Protestantism. Dr. Henry is editor of *Christianity Today*, a fortnightly of conservative content and evangelical concern, advertised as "the fastest growing magazine of Christian leadership in America." Directed primarily to the Protestant clergy, it has had phenomenal success (and ample subsidy from, among others, J. Howard Pew) since its founding two years ago. In a recent independent survey 46 per cent of the Protestant pastors polled said that they read *Christianity Today* regularly, another 35 per cent answering that they read it occasionally. Clearly, Dr. Henry, as editor, is a man of substantial influence in shaping Protestant opinion in this country; undoubtedly, moreover, the group for which he is the spokesman constitutes the majority of American Protestants.



What sort of a man, then, is Dr. Henry, judging from his book? A student of vast reading in biblical and ethical literature (he footnoted his work 1,071 times), a dedicated believer of the conservative evangelical American tradition (he is a Baptist minister), a man persuaded that "the severance of ethics from fixed values and standards, ardently promoted by John Dewey and the naturalists, has brought moral chaos" with the result that "the sense of ethical imperative is evaporating from one range of life after another," a preacher insistent that the survival of civilization itself demands a return to the moral standards and absolute

values derived from supernatural revelation; finally, he is a writer of clarity and eloquence who has profited much from an apprenticeship in the newspaper world.

I trust that I will not seem to slight the religious insights and the massive scholarship of Dr. Henry's bulky volume, if I use his book to make an editorial point. Despite its wide range of historical study, the book's Index of Persons, with nearly 400 entries, shows an astonishing vacuity of interest in a thousand years of Christian history: no one from Augustine to Luther receives the courtesy of serious, first-hand attention. (The four references under "Aquinas" include an ungracious quotation from one R. A. Tsanoff and three howlers: mistaken references to George F. Thomas, a Protestant theologian!) The bibliography, listing nearly 200 titles, indicates the author's self-segregation from contemporary Catholic thought. Such an insulation from a major intellectual tradition suggests the existence of more than a single ghetto and gives ground for uneasiness as the editor of *Christianity Today* attempts to interpret for his readers Catholic positions on religious questions or temporal issues.

The situation has its ironical aspect: in his opposition to the irrational and anti-metaphysical bent of the times, Dr. Henry often writes like a Thomist *manqué*. Thus: "The revolt against the Logos is a revolt also against Agape, and the only genuine prototype of Agape is the Logos become flesh."

Coming from an even more conservative theological tradition than Dr. Henry's, that of the Gereformeerde Kerken of the Netherlands, trans-

planted here as the Christian Reformed Church in America, Cecil DeBoer was a professor of Philosophy at Calvin College with a distinctly Augustinian view of reality. His essays on many topics have been published as *Responsible Protestantism* (Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, Mich., 247 pp. \$3.50). They reveal an independent, incisive, witty, capacious and religiously oriented mind, learned in philosophy and well-informed on a wide range of contemporary topics.

A discerning critic of American culture, Dr. DeBoer insisted that

a society disintegrates whenever it lacks basic loyalties and definite frames of reference; that these loyalties cannot be won except in terms of a fundamental spirit based upon a definite philosophy of life; and that without these loyalties all institutions, whether of government or of education, lack real authority. . . . that the attempt to attain such a fundamental spirit without inculcating basic religious convictions, and thereby ignoring man's essential religious nature, is largely futile.

He believed in putting first things first: [The Christian Religion] will never serve as a mere means, for example, to the end of social justice if your final end is nothing more than social justice, since what you are trying to do is to make the whole serve as a means to the part. In other words, the worship of God practiced as a means to social justice—whatever sort of thing that could conceivably be—would at any rate not be the worship of God. Consequently, you could never know whether the result would be social justice. Furthermore, if the fear of the Lord must prove its worth by successfully functioning as a means to something else before it will be tolerated, then there are about two thousand years of history to show that it will not be tolerated. Contemporary Russia is only one example.

DeBoer's emphasis was resolutely moral, his wit mordant, his scholarship honest. He saw the crucial issues con-

fronting our civilization and he was not oversanguine of success: "We may as well get used to the ancient truth in terms of the rewards of this world 'the price of goodness is failure'." Of education he wrote: "The American public will probably continue to employ the school for the purpose of propagating the type of society in which the adults believe . . ." Explaining why there is no need for Christian trade unions in our country, he noted:

It is no exaggeration to say that one is more obviously in atheistic and anti-Christian company as a faculty member in a state university than as a member of this or that C.I.O. local.

He found the roots of inflation in group selfishness but footnoted his indictment knowledgeably: "The individual American citizen is not, of course, responsible for all the causes of inflation e.g. for the billions involved in the defense program and the Marshall Plan." He knew that ascribing the inspiration of American political philosophy to John Calvin was, to say the least, overzealous. He wrote the best chapter on the race problem I have ever read.



The philosophy behind the Supreme Court decision in the McCollum case Dr. DeBoer termed a reflection of "the growing secularization of a large and vociferous segment of American public opinion" and a declaration that

since religion is socially and politically an irrelevance and that, inasmuch as the values to be gained by religious education

amount to personal luxuries, a person can be adequately educated without religion.

DeBoer believed that to penalize financially parents who feel bound in conscience to send their children to a school which inculcates obligations to God is unjust and an infringement of religious liberty:

Freedom of conscience in that case would seem to mean only the negative freedom of taking something you must in conscience reject, or taking the penalties. That an American citizen should be made to pay for a school the character of which he must reject does not seem to be essentially different from the former European practice of making the citizen pay for the church the doctrines of which he could not believe.

Is it because Dr. DeBoer sensed so clearly the secularist challenge that his understanding of Catholicism was accurate, his descriptions of the Church's positions fair, his attitude sympathetic? His was a mind that would have been at home in a Jesuit recreation room; he would, I surmise, have enjoyed himself there.

It is unfortunate that DeBoer was not better known in his lifetime. (There is no indication of his age at his death.) Was his influence restricted because he was a member of a religious minority group? It was certainly not because of any paucity of talent nor provincialism of outlook. It was a happy thought to publish his essays—else he would have been a "mute inglorious Milton" and American religious thought the poorer.

"Responsible Protestant Living in College" might well be the subtitle of Dr. Waldo Beach's *Conscience on the Campus* (Association Press, New York, 124 pp. \$2.50). Professor of Christian Ethics at Duke University, the author has served as a college pastor; his

book displays a rich and intimate understanding of undergraduate life. There is a sanely helpful chapter on the place of sex in human living. In general, however, the chapters offer rather a religious orientation for student existence, urging the unifying of



all knowledge in the Christian perspective, challenging the cult of the crowd and the notion of salvation through security and suggesting that a Christian interest in international affairs and social questions replace the provincialism of outlook that wants the football coach fired after a few defeats. A wise book which does its undergraduate readers the compliment of assuming that they are mature and does them the favor of making them more mature.

Dr. Beach will smile, I hope, if I note that he has admitted into his text a word savoring of the "legalism" his ethical emphasis abhors. Thus, in a first definition:

Authentic Christian ethics is inward and dynamic, dealing in the realm of intention and motives, "the heart." It cannot decide ahead of time, as does a rule book, what is to be done or not done, for week ends or weekdays. It cannot prescribe the content of decisions. It can only prepare for decisions which must be freshly and freely made in each new situation.

Three pages later we read:

Christian ethics is the attempt to formulate the norms of human behavior as responses to God as he acts in nature, in history and crucially in Jesus Christ. That treacherous word "norms"!

Protestant laymen constitute the audience primarily envisaged by Dr. Victor Obenhaus for his *The Responsible Christian* (University of Chicago, 291 pp. \$4). It offers readable, if not particularly penetrating, chapters on economic life, labor, agriculture, race, communism, public and private welfare, health, church and state, civil rights, and the notion of vocation. The material is almost exclusively an apt summary of the reports of the ecumenical assemblies at Oxford, Amsterdam and Evanston, the papers prepared for conferences of the National Council of Churches on, for example, "The Church and Economic Life," the Council-sponsored "Series on the Ethics and Economics of Society" and, dismal thought, for the chapter on church and state, largely the dim thinking and publications of Protestants and other Americans.

Thus, the explanation offered for the First Amendment's prohibition of the establishment of a national religion runs: "In this the authors of the Constitution were unconsciously, but nevertheless effectively, implementing a basic Protestant conviction." The pur-



pose must indeed have been unconscious: to say nothing of established churches existing today in Protestant countries (England and Scandinavia), four of the colonies had established Protestant churches (as the author notes four pages later) at the time of the Constitutional Convention. Curiously enough, Dr. Obenhaus advances

this fact as the reason why the Constitution-makers insisted on separation of church and state (the phrase, by the way, is not in the Constitution) instead of the more obvious explanation that the religious heterogeneity of the colonies made a preferred status to any denomination unfeasible. History further reports that until the Revolution Anglicanism was the established church in five other colonies; it was disestablished in reprisal for its Tory sentiments.



The author's cultural preferences—and perhaps his theological orientation—emerges in this observation:

Protestantism acknowledges that the growth of the pupil is integral to his religious development, which does not take place only in a church but is as truly found in the educative process in the public school. Basically, the public school is not a secular institution—it has profound religious implications.

The Open Bible, the Little Red School House and Old Glory! Did some cynical egghead sneer at Eisenhower's identification of religion and the American Way of Life? Mr. Justice Jackson of the Supreme Court, who presumably knew (and helped determine) the function of American public education, wrote in the *Everson* decision:

Our public school . . . is organized on the premise that secular education can be isolated from all religious teaching so that the school can inculcate all needed temporal knowledge and also maintain a strict neutrality as to religion.

No complaint of thinness of material can be lodged against Dr. T. B. Maston's *Christianity and World Issues* (Macmillan, New York, ix, 374 pp. \$5). Written to be used also as a textbook in seminaries, it surveys the relation of the Christian religion to the world and to a multitude of contemporary issues with a thoroughness of documentation suggesting it to be the work of a committee rather than that of the Professor of Christian Ethics at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth. Its fairness as well as its fullness of reference makes the book outstanding. Only two passing lapses from the irenic spirit were noted: 1. the comment that the Catholic Church "is as totalitarian as communism," an observation supported singly by a reference to Paul Blanshard (whose name doesn't even appear in the index); and 2. an assertion that "by the growth of Catholic numbers and influence, religious liberty is threatened by a danger of the very first magnitude," the quotation being from C. J. Cadoux, scarcely an impartial witness. (I leave unlisted the discredited allegation that Jesuits teach that the end justifies the means, a gaffe which would seem unfairly to impair the impressive and objective scholarship of the author.)

Let it be admitted frankly: no book of similar range and thoroughness has been produced in English by a Catholic. More's the pity!



The Commission on Faith and Life  
of the United Lutheran Church in

America recommended in 1948 the undertaking of "a scholarly study, which may eventuate in a definite book, of the Lutheran approach to Christian social responsibility." Under that title a series of three volumes, written by 14 pastors, church executives and theological professors, has been published by the Muhlenberg Press, Philadelphia at \$1.50, \$1.75 and \$2.25 respectively. The first volume, *Existence Today*, discusses the widespread secularism in the modern world and analyzes its sources; volume two, *The Lutheran Heritage*, recounts the specific historical influences which have led the Lutheran church to its present deep concern about social responsibility; volume three, *Life in Community*, presents ethics in the American Lutheran perspective.

It will be useful to have available in English the bases and structures of contemporary Lutheran ethics which lean heavily on continental sources. The intransigently theological language and the opaqueness of prose of Professor Joseph Sittler, however, makes his exposition intelligible to few beyond specialists in the field; the same is almost as true of the chapter by Professor Taito Almar Kantonen on the theology of politics, raising the question of the readership envisaged for the series. The doctrine of *Ordnungen* is not widely known in the United States.

The analysis of our economic life by Pastor Rufus Cornelsen displays a scarcely-relieved pessimism. "As a system," he declares, "it is impelled by no concern whatever for human welfare." The worker, it is asserted, is not free, since he has no property on the job; his personality is negated, since the job requires that he be tempered to fit the

pattern. The picture of man caught in the toil of technics recalls Chaplin's *City Lights* and seems to suggest that Christian living is impossible in an industrial civilization which, in turn, seems to suggest that the analysis was written largely out of books. The demand for structural changes is a familiar one but, in the absence of specification, not particularly helpful.

It would be difficult to find a more inspiring description of the "one flesh" ideal of Christian marriage (especially by a writer who does not accord the relationship a sacramental character) than the pages by the Reverend Harold

Haas. How dismaying, then, to discover that, with seeming obliviousness of social consequences, divorce and remarriage are permitted on the ground that faith must meet facts, a phrase that would appear to indicate that truth must accommodate itself to human preferences.

This reviewer found the Lutheran series difficult reading. In addition to differences of theological background and vocabulary, differences of cultural inheritance complicate understanding, a disturbing thought when one envisages the possibility of common action for temporal objectives.

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**AN AMERICAN AMEN, *A Statement of Hope*.** By John LaFarge, S. J. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, New York. 254 pp. \$4.

Those of us who are old enough to remember (or at least to have read about) the controversies attending the efforts to reconcile the ancient teaching and tradition of the Church with the spirit of a young and growing America will have some historical background against which the better to appreciate and evaluate the resounding title of the new book of Father John LaFarge, S. J. We know, of course, what "Amen" means. It is technically a religious word and is almost invariably used in a religious context. I think we can say that it is so used here. As a Catholic priest as well as an American citizen, deep-dyed and true-blue in both capacities and functions, Father LaFarge pronounces his present approval of all the sane and sound elements in contemporary American life and affirms his hopes for the future.

There is a general and, of course, quite erroneous notion that realistic, honest, fact-facing attitudes usually result in pessimism; that the optimist is one who shuts

his eyes to what he does not wish to see and bases his conclusions on what he prefers to see. Obviously, Father LaFarge is too old and wise an observer and student of American life to be that kind of an absurd optimist. He is quite aware of our national shortcomings; he knows that a great and disheartening amount of materialism, secularism, raucous commercialism and kindred evils encumber our society and hinder its acquisition of more ideal ethical habits in the cultural, economic, political and social orders. But he finds in these conditions no cause for that sort of alarm which often sounds more like a cry of surrender than a call to arms. He has the healthy optimism of Chesterton who saw a great many things wrong with the world but never grew morbidly melancholy about its ultimate betterment, provided Christian men would try a little harder to "save even heathen things," to save them by transforming them into something else.

This, much too broadly stated, is the theme of Father LaFarge's book. It is a mellow meditation, an almost reverie-like, lingering look at a familiar landscape by a man who is happy and contented, not because he is smugly unconcerned with

realities that do not trouble him, but because he has the fine balance of mind and equipoise of soul which only faith, hope and charity can give to the wisdom that does not always come with age.

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**THE ECONOMICS OF UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES.** By Peter T. Bauer and Basil S. Yamey. University of Chicago Press (in association with James Nisbet & Co., Ltd. and The Cambridge University Press, London), xiii, 271 pp. \$2.25

**ECONOMIC ANALYSIS AND POLICY IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES.** By P. T. Bauer. Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., Cambridge University Press, London, xiii, 145 pp. \$3

**ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS AND ECONOMIC GROWTH.** By Harvey Leibenstein. Wiley, New York, ix, 295 pp. \$6.75

**ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. Theory, History, Policy.** By Gerald M. Meier and Robert E. Baldwin. Wiley, New York, vii, 588 pp. \$8.50

Of the four books under review that of Bauer (best known of all the authors involved) and Yamey has been published under the esteemed sponsorship of the Cambridge Handbook Series; so we shall start with it. As other Cambridge handbooks in their respective fields, this one brings economic analysis to bear upon many aspects of economic underdevelopment and analyzes several of the most disputed issues of theory and of policy.

The first part, "descriptive and analytical," deals with problems of measuring economic progress, with natural resources, population, under-employment, motivation and finally the use and growth of capital. The second half, "government and economic development," discusses some of the roles which are ascribed to government. Here the authors cover general appraisals of government's roles, governmental measures affecting accelerated capital formation, agricultural improvement and the promotion of manufacturing industry.

What particularly characterizes this book is the scepticism which the authors show for most of the "new" economics of underdeveloped countries. To sample some of their positions: they emphasize (some will say exaggerate) what the underdeveloped countries can do for themselves if they want to; obstacles to growth are rather the responsibility of the underdeveloped nations. Their plight is the result of their own restrictionism, unwillingness to save, of their social and cultural backwardness and not, as some believe, because of unfavorable terms of trade, reluctance to send them capital, or population pressure. All this sounds quite like Jacob Viner on our side of the Atlantic.



The authors argue that the underdeveloped countries can use much less capital or other aid than is commonly asserted. They insist on eschewing excessive industrialization in favor of developing agriculture in which the non-industrial have a comparative advantage. They deny that agriculture suffers a natural inferiority to industry; they dispute the relevance of the argument that today's developed nations gained their position because of external economies, balanced growth, emphasis on industrialization.

While the authors are not critical of government participation, they are suspicious of high degrees of planning or the efficacy of government's assuming large responsibility for saving via some compulsory method or other.

The thinking back of these positions is spelled out in more detail in Bauer's lectures delivered at Duke University and published under the title *Economic Analysis and Policy in Underdeveloped Countries*. These lectures are essentially methodological observations, although there is some discussion of policy issues (pretty much the same as can be found in the Cambridge Handbook).

The lectures conclude that neo-classical economics is in all respects relevant to underdeveloped countries. To prove this Bauer shows that from his experience (West Africa) there is proved applicability of such concepts as supply and demand in all its ramifications, response of both producers and consumers to price change, change of wants, profit motivation, comparative advantage.

Having discovered from experience so much applicability, Bauer attacks much of present theorizing in "economic development" as resting exclusively on statistics, theoretical preconceptions (e.g. the alleged irrelevance of accepted economic theory because of cultural and institutional differences in the backward regions). He regards as fruitless the quest for "a fundamental cause or causes of development and reasons explaining why some countries were caught up in the stream of material progress faster than others."

We turn now to the remaining two books—both of which would fall under Bauer's condemnation as lacking personal experience of backward countries, long on theorizing and, above all, as attempts to find some fundamental cause of development.

Leibenstein, using the empirical studies of others, works out a theory of economic development. This is, briefly, that economic backwardness is a condition of quasi-stable subsistence equilibrium from which there is no escape unless a certain critical minimum of growth can be surpassed. Below this minimum what growth agents there are will be counterbalanced by growth-retarding elements; the result is always a return to subsistence per capita income. After discussion of this equilibrium, of the growth factors and the retarding factors, the theory advances to state the conditions under which there can be a break-through.

From this point on what you have is essentially an extension of the Harrod-Domar type of growth analysis to the case of the backward area. In bulk, the discussion of the possibility of "displacement" from the old equilibrium, that is of discovering "economic conditions which permit the growth factors to overcome the retarding ones," is in terms of a rate of growth

of net investment. Given certain data of population growth and certain verifiable capital-output ratios, one can establish for various required per capita growths the amount of saving and of net investment needed.

Repeatedly, and in detail in a chapter of summary, the author warns that there is much more to economic development than is involved in the few variables he predominantly works with. Nevertheless, the discussion of break-through moves largely in terms of a Harrod-Domar model. Whatever be the limitations of Leibenstein's theory, it is very helpful to have this pioneering attempt to reduce the heterogeneous mass of present knowledge about economic backwardness to some ordered, tenable model of analysis.

Meier and Baldwin divide their text on economic development into three parts: past theories, history, and policies. Theories analyzed include Classical, Marxian, Neo-Classical, Schumpeterian, Post-Keynesian (Harrod-Domar). Students will find this section exceedingly illuminating. For their historical treatment the authors confine themselves to England, a limitation. The history, however, is very well done, illuminating several issues of current debate.

The policy part of the text divides into "accelerating development in the poor countries" and "maintaining development in the rich countries." The former is by far the more extensive and manages, if not extensively, to say something pertinent on most of the policy issues presently debated. Beginning students will perhaps find the treatment abundant enough. The final section, after presenting characteristics of the rich countries, offers in 40 pages the requirements for maintaining development and then states policies.

In their preface the authors say that this book "from the viewpoints of theory, history and policy . . . attempts to explain the forces that give long-period growing power to an economy." If by that they mean that a unified theory of growth emerges from their study and is made to be the base of policy proposals, this escapes the reviewer. The proposals for "accelerating" are fairly current and es-

poused by writers who do not present them as stemming from some over-all theory of development. The policies "for maintaining" are commonly found in discussions of stabilization, of full employment with stability and the like.

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**OVERPOPULATION.** By Anthony Zimmerman. Catholic University Press. Washington, D. C. 327 pp. \$4

**THE POPULATION OF JAPAN.** By Irene B. Taeuber. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N. J., 461 pp. \$15

Two books have appeared on demography which deserve the attention of Catholic scholars. The one by the Rev. Anthony Zimmerman, S.V.D., a study of the Papal Encyclicals with special reference to Japan, is a pioneer work of Catholic scholarship. Another demographic study from a Catholic point of view, "Too Many of Us?" by the Rev. Albert Nevett, S.J., was published in 1952 by the Indian Institute of Social Order, 13 Boat Club Road, Poona; in it, among other things, Father Nevett traces clearly the traditional opposition of Eastern religions to artificial birth control.

The sole flaw in Father Zimmerman's book is its title, evoking the "population scare" themes of the neo-Malthusians. Actually, it is a careful analysis of Japan's situation in which 91 million persons are crowded into four tiny islands with only the total area of the state of Montana, and with the highest ratio of population per acre of farm land in the world. Father Zimmerman shows Pope Pius XII's awareness of this fact, and how applicable the statements of the late Pope on the social order are toward a true solution for Japan.

This book belongs on every library shelf. It is regrettable that Catholic University Press lacked the resources of a larger publisher to call attention to this fine and important study by advertisements; it is also to be regretted that so little attention was paid to it in critical reviews in Catholic and secular publications.

While Father Zimmerman's book was a herculean and lone effort, Irene Taeu-

ber's *The Population of Japan* apparently benefited from the resources and research facilities of the Office of Population Research at Princeton, of which she is a staff member. Grants from the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations also aided here.

The result, 450 folio-sized pages illustrated with numerous maps and charts, is certainly one of the handsomest books published in recent years in the scholarly or technical fields. Miss Taeuber utilized official Japanese sources as well as English-language material in producing probably the most comprehensive volume on Japan's demographic situation in the English language.

The one criticism this reviewer would make is the book's oppressive secular tone. The Eugenics Protection Law (passed in 1948) which legalized abortion operations and permitted birth control apparatus dissemination is discussed at length; there is, however, little indication that religious or moral factors have any relevance. Yet the detailed account of the law and its effects, in which one out of every two Japanese babies conceived are being slain by legalized abortion today, is in itself a sharp indictment of the law.

Miss Taeuber refutes the "mythology" according to which it has been maintained that the Japanese were a people from a "semi-tropical" culture "who would not leave their crowded" islands for a less temperate climate. When they have had opportunities to migrate in the past, the author points out, "the Japanese moved to the frigid north and the humid tropics; they moved into agriculture and into industry."

In her conclusion she sees Japan's population on the positive side as one that could be a great benefit to the Far East. She finds a further hope for the future in the self-discipline and character of the Japanese people. "They are more educated than any other Asian group," Miss Taeuber writes.

... (They have) knowledge of the folkways of peasant agriculture but they are also a modern people with the productive techniques needed to continue in-

dustrialization at minimum cost. Japan's increasing population could be a major asset in the modernization of other countries in the Pacific region.

On the less optimistic side of the picture she stresses the necessity of an expanding economy and further economic development within Japan and ends her book with the blunt warning that if a solution is not found, with external and internal means, for Japan to support her people, "there might be radical changes in social structure and political adjustments with serious consequences for Japan, the Pacific region and the West." In short, as President Eisenhower has warned, Japan would then be forced to join the Iron Curtain countries and "the Western Pacific would become a Communist lake."

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**DICTIONARY OF PERSONNEL AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.** By Esther L. Becker. Philosophical Library, New York, 366 pp. \$10

It is surprising that a dictionary of industrial relations terms has not appeared earlier. There is a need. The author has attempted something in between a dictionary and an encyclopedia. Had she taken one or the other approach, the out-

come would have been happier. Many of the definitions are too long for the quick reference purpose of a dictionary; on the other hand they are inadequate as complete explanations. Some definitions do not define. For example: the article on "discipline" begins, "The ideal type of industrial discipline is 'self-discipline' . . .," which is then explained. All well and good, but what is "discipline" in the industrial context? The dictionary would have been more useful to bewildered executives facing a union for the first time, if more of the common slang expressions had been included. Some of those included are poorly defined. Example: "Goon—A person hired by a union or employer to incite violence during a strike." The function of the "goon" is, of course, much wider. It is doubtful that such strong-armed men would be hired simply to incite violence. They use violent methods, if necessary, but their purpose is to enforce the will of union officials, either on the picketline or elsewhere. However, it is easy to quarrel with definitions. The book is a useful tool, not perfect, but headed in the direction of filling a need.

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*(Continued from page 472)*

was then asked to use "all the authority of his sacred office to heal the spiritual wounds" afflicted or aggravated by the war. In the same letter, Benedict XV also wrote:

It is specially necessary to eliminate every feeling of hatred either towards foreigners with whom the nation was at war or towards fellow-citizens of other parties, and in the place of hatred put the brotherly love which is of Christ, which knows no barrier or limit.<sup>48</sup>

Later, in an encyclical on peace and reconciliation, this pontiff again emphasized that "there can be no stable peace

or lasting treaties . . . unless there be a return of mutual charity to appease hate and banish enmity." He recommended that all nations put aside mutual suspicion and unite in one league, "or rather a sort of family of peoples" which "whilst preserving a diversity of nations" will tend to a unity that favors peace and prosperity.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>48</sup>*Pacem Dei Munus Pulcherrimum*, "On Peace and Christian Reconciliation," Koenig, *op. cit.*, pp. 285, 290-291. In this encyclical, Benedict XV referred to St. Augustine's *City of God* and to the influence of the Church in uniting "the ancient and barbarous nations" into a Christian Europe. Benedict ordered prayers for Poland when her national existence was threatened and gave advice on language problems to the Bishops of Canada and of Belgium. Koenig, *op. cit.*, pp. 295, 253-254, 306-307.

<sup>49</sup>*Diuturni*, July 15, 1919. Koenig, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

Pius XI, who succeeded Benedict XV on the Chair of Peter, announced the establishment of peace as the object of his pontificate, and his watchword became: "The Peace of Christ in the Reign of Christ."<sup>45</sup> In order to realize this goal, he engaged in an ideological war with both Hitler and Mussolini and condemned their racial theories.<sup>46</sup>

### Minorities and peace

In a Christmas message, Pius XII clearly enunciated the importance of minority rights to world peace in the following words:

Within the limits of a new order founded on moral principles there is no place for open or secret oppression of the cultural and linguistic characteristics of national minorities, for the hindrance or restriction of their economic resources, for the limitation or abolition of their natural fertility. The more conscientiously the government of a State respects the rights of minorities, the more confidently and the more effectively can it demand from its subjects a loyal fulfillment of those civil obligations which are common to all citizens.<sup>47</sup>

A few years later, in another Christmas message, he reiterated the same principle, saying, "all things considered, there is only one way of getting out of the meshes in which war and hate have wrapped the world—the genuine recognition of human solidarity"; not a partial solidarity, "limited to some

peoples, but universal — embracing all."<sup>48</sup>

More recently, Pius XII deplored the trend toward science and technology becoming the "common good of mankind." It is evident, he added, that "they are proving themselves incapable of bridging the gap of spiritual estrangement that separates races and continents."<sup>49</sup> Indeed, in the cause of science, this gap seems to be growing wider, as for instance, when whole groups are transplanted in order to carry on atomic tests. "To uproot man altogether from tradition . . . like plants plucked from their own surroundings and transferred to uncongenial conditions," he stated, is an unwarranted tampering with man's freedom. Man is "responsible before his ancestors and his descendants" to mold continuously the life of the community, and his cultural heritage affords him an "assured fund of traditions and unchanging values" as a source of protection and security.<sup>50</sup>

As guardians of the moral order, then, modern pontiffs have clearly defined and strongly supported the rights of the human person and of the minority group to which he may belong. Not only have they offered to society a set of guiding principles but they have also applied these principles to contemporary events.

<sup>45</sup>*Ubi Arcano*, "Peace of Christ in the Reign of Christ," (December 23, 1922), par. 5.

<sup>46</sup>For a summary account, see E. E. Y. Hales, *The Catholic Church in the Modern World*, Chapter XXII, "Mussolini, Hitler, and Pius XI (1922-1939)," Hanover House, Garden City, N. Y., 1958, pp. 262-275. This source also devotes several chapters to the Church in America.

<sup>47</sup>*Nell' Alba*, "Five Fundamental Conditions for a Just Peace," December 24, 1941. Koenig, *op. cit.*, p. 757.

<sup>48</sup>*Pius XII and Democracy*, December 24, 1944, Paulist Press, New York, N. Y., 1945, par. 73, p. 18. Also in *Catholic Mind*, 43 (February, 1945), pp. 65-77.

<sup>49</sup>*Vous avez voulu*, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>50</sup>*L'inesauribile mistero*, Christmas Message of December 23, 1956. *Catholic Mind*, 55 (March-April, 1957), p. 175. For a more comprehensive account of Pius XII's peace efforts, see Daniel A. O'Connor, *Catholic Social Doctrine*, Chapter VII, "Pope Pius XII and Peace," pp. 110-148, Newman Press, Westminster, Md., 1956.

# Index, Volume 8 (o.s. 11)

## AFRICA

Social change in Africa. W. H. Lewis. J. Bennett. 387  
Letters. 91

## AGED

Status of the aged. R. Hart. P. P. Harbrecht. 123

## AGRICULTURE

Coping with agricultural abundance. T. W. Schultz. 368  
Elements of the farm problem. E. Duff. 361  
Statement of policy. National Catholic Rural Life Conference. 383  
U. S. agriculture: problem and choices. J. K. Galbraith. 376

## ALGERIA

Letters. 91

## ANTIEAU, Chester James

Letters. 144

## ASIA

Spiritual forces in Asian politics. J. D'Sousa. 298

What did Confucius say? J. E. Blewett. 481

## AUSTRIA

On revisiting Europe. K. v. Schuschnigg. 2

## AUTOMATION

Automation: its effects. J. J. Lamb. 426

## BAERWALD, Friedrich

German Catholics and Labor. 163

## BAILEY, John E.

Letters. 92

## BALDWIN, Roger

Letters. 46

## BENNETT, John

Social change in Africa. 387

## BERNARD, Raymond

Calm voices rise in the south. 74

## BERNARD, William S.

Letters. 92

## BLEWETT, John E.

What did Confucius say? 481

## BOOK REVIEWS

Aging in industry. L. Clark. A. C. Dunne. 89; Aging: current appraisal. O. L. Webber. ed. 123; Alcoholics anonymous comes of age. A co-founder. 90; America and the British left. H. M. Pelling. 43; America as a civilization. M. Lerner. 447; American churches and the Negro. W. D. Weatherford. 79; American culture. S. Graham. 403; American idea of mission. E. McN. Burns. 187; America's natural resources. I. N. Gabrielson. 401; An American amen. J. LaFarge. 494; Apostolic sanctity. J. E. Haley. 43; Ashanti. R. A. Ly-stad. 312

Bill of Rights. L. Hand. 304; Black bourgeoisie. E. F. Frazier. 81; Capital formation and foreign investment in underdeveloped areas. C. Wolf, Jr. S. C. Sufrin. 255

Caribbean. A. C. Wilgus, ed. 408; Case histories in community organization. M. G. Ross. 451; Character of man. E. Mounier. 38; Christian ethics. G. Harkness. 488; Christian personal ethics. C. F. H. Henry. 488; Christianity and economic problems. D. L. Munny. 350; Christianity and race. P. Mason. 82; Christianity and world issues. T. B. Maston. 493; Church, state and education. E. Barker. 311; Clinical studies in culture conflict. G. Seward. 453; Collective behavior. R. H. Turner. L. M. Killian. 87; Colored minorities in Britain. S. Collins. 352; Coming Caesars. A. de Rien-court. 36; Communism on the decline. G. C. Guins. 285; Communist China today. P. S. H. Teng. 181; Communist Party vs. the C. I. O.

M. M. Kempelman. 185; Comparative economic systems. W. N. Loucks. 44; Conditions of economic progress. C. Clark. 187; Conscience on the campus. W. Beach. 491; Criminology. R. G. Caldwell. 89; Cultural foundations of industrial civilization. J. E. Nef. 350

Deep south says never. J. B. Martin. 80; Democratic Roosevelt. R. C. Tugwell. 140; Dictionary of personnel and industrial relations. E. L. Becker. 498; Documents of modern political thought. T. E. Utley. J. S. Macclure, eds. 351

Economic analysis and policy in underdeveloped countries. P. T. Bauer. 495; Economic backwardness and economic growth. H. Leibenstein. 495; Economic cooperation in Europe. D. Wightman. 40; Economic development. G. M. Meier. R. E. Baldwin. 495; Economic institutions and human welfare. J. M. Clark. 87; Economic needs of older people. J. J. Corson. J. W. McConnell. 124; Economics and discrimination. G. Becker. 84; Economics of communist east Europe. N. Spulber. 286; Economics of underdeveloped countries. P. T. Bauer. B. S. Yamey. 495; Edmund Burke and the natural law. P. J. Stanlis. 445; Education for planning. H. S. Perloff. 356

Farm prices, myth and reality. W. C. Cochran. 400; Farm trouble. L. Soth. 37; Flexible retirement. G. Mathiasen, ed. 89; Foreman on the assembly line. C. R. Walker. R. H. Guest. A. N. Turner. 260; Free Society and moral crisis. R. C. Angell. 358; From generation to generation. S. N. Eisenstadt. 89; From Max Weber. H. H. Gerth. C. W. Mills, eds. 309; From the depths. R. H. Brenner. 40; Fundamental liberties of a free people. M. R. Konvitz. 139

German sociology. R. Aron. 141; Golden door. K. Burton. 83; Go south to sorrow. C. Rowan. 80; Great crisis in American Catholic history: 1895-1900. T. McAvoy. 183; Great famine. R. D. Edwards. T. D. Williams, eds. 257; Group differences in attitudes and votes. A. Campbell. H. G. Cooper. 309

Habsburg empire. R. A. Kann. 185; Half the world's children. S. M. Keeny. 42; High-fields story. L. W. McCorkle. A. Elias G. L. Bixby. 355; History of Sino-Russian relations. T. F. Cheng. 453; Human relations in business. K. Davis. 88; Humanist versus economist. W. F. Kennedy. 354; Hungarians in Canada. J. Kosa. 262; Hungary. E. Heimreich, ed. 449

Industrial relations in Australia. K. F. Walker. 353; Intellectuals in labor unions. H. L. Wilensky. 39; Intermediate economic theory. J. P. McKenna. 408; International economics. J. N. Behrman. W. E. Schmidt. 407; Investment and administration of profit sharing trust funds. J. J. Jehring. 140; Islam inflamed. J. Morris. 183

Jacksonian persuasion. M. Meyers. 259; Jews. M. Sklare, ed. 306; Juvenile delinquency. J. S. Rueck, ed. 453

Kingdom beyond caste. L. Pope. 78  
Labor economics and industrial relations. R. D. Leiter. 355; Labor in a growing economy. M. W. Reder. 306; Labor, industry and the church. J. Daniel. 261; Labor unions and public policy. E. H. Chamberlin and others. 394; L'agriculteur a la conquete des marche. H. de Farcy. 401; Land of choice: Hungarians in Canada. J. Kosa. 263; Latin American monographs. T. L. Smith. 402; Liberalism: its theory and practice. T. M. Greene. 138; Little business in the American economy. J.

D. Phillips. 452; Lonesome road. S. Redding. 403; Louisville story. O. Carmichael, W. James. 82

Making ethical decisions. H. C. Kee. 487; Marriage consulting. R. A. Skidmore, H. V. S. Garrett, C. J. Skidmore. 43; Marriage counseling. E. H. Mudd and others, eds. 454; Marriage is holy. H. Caffarel, ed. 135; Mind of Alexander Hamilton. S. K. Padover. 353; Modern apostle. L. J. Putz. 43; Modern sociological theory in continuity and change. H. Becker. A. Boskoff, eds. 188; Money, banking and national income. J. W. Hanks, R. Stucki. 259; Moral revolution of 1688. D. W. Bahman. 182

National communism and soviet strategy. D. A. Tomasic. 280; Negro in American culture. M. J. Butler. 82; Negro in southern politics. H. D. Price. 75; Negro in the United States. R. W. Logan. 81; Neither black nor white. W. Dykman, J. Stokely. 80; New frontiers of aging. W. Donahue, C. C. Tibbitts. 123; New frontiers of knowledge. M. B. Schnapper. 404; New understanding of leadership. M. G. Ross, C. E. Hendry. 141

Occupations and values. M. Rosenberg. 312; Overpopulation. A. Zimmerman. 497

Peculiar institution. K. M. Stamp. 84; Pilot study of Southern Illinois. C. C. Colby. 37; Politics of English dissent. R. G. Cowherd. 182; Population ahead. R. G. Francis, ed. 451; Population of Jamaica. G. W. Roberts. 137; Population of Japan. I. B. Taeuber. 497; Praise of pleasure. E. Surtz. 351; Principles of economic policy. K. E. Boulding. 306; Printers and technology. E. F. Baker. 355; Private investment. J. Daniel, ed. 452; Profile of primitive culture. E. R. Service. 356; Profit sharing manual. J. B. Meier, ed. 141; Programme for social action. M. P. Fogarty. 179; Progress against prejudice. R. Root. 82; Propaganda. L. Fraser. 305; Prosperity without inflation. A. F. Burns. 134; Protestant and Catholic. K. W. Underwood. 441; Public control of economic enterprise. H. K. and R. Gable. 407

Race and culture contacts in the modern world. E. F. Frazier. 81; Red book of the persecuted church. A. Galter. 42; Reflections on America. J. Maritain. 255; Religion and the psychology of Jung. R. Hostie. 86; Report on the world social situation. Bureau of Social Affairs. United Nations Secretariat. 181; Representative republic. F. A. Hermens. 449; Responsibilities of American advertising. O. Pease. 448; Responsible Christian. V. Obenhaus. 492; Responsible Protestantism. C. DeBoer. 490; Rise and fall of civilization. S. B. Clough. 136; Rise of Krushchev. M. Rush. 256; Rural life prayerbook. A. J. Dachauer. 312

Samuel Gompers: American statesman. F. C. Thorne. 355; Scholastic analysis of usury. J. J. Noonan, Jr. 451; Scientific study of social behavior. M. Argyle. 450; Search for a Latin American policy. T. W. Palmer, Jr. 402; Segregation. R. P. Warren. 80; Short history of the West Indies. J. H. Parry, P. M. Sherlock. 137; Smaller dragon. J. Buttner. 357; Social and cultural dynamics. P. Sorokin. 87; Social perspectives on behavior. H. D. Stein, R. Cloward, eds. 352; Social problems and social action. M. E. Walsh, P. H. Furley. 454; Social reforms at midcentury. J. Bernard. 262; Social responsibilities of organized labor. J. A. Fitch. 38; Social theory and social structure. R. K. Merton. 184; Social work yearbook. R. H. Kurts, ed. 450; Sociology. J. H. Fichter. 83; Sociology of deviant behavior. M. B. Clinard. 86; Southern race progress. T. J. Wooster. 77; Soviet Marxism. H. Marcuse. 292; Soviet regime. W. W. Kulski. 284;

Sociologie der Pfarrgruppen. J. H. Fichter. 306; Story of the American Negro. I. C. Brown. 84; Strange career of Jim Crow. C. V. Woodward. 74; Stride toward freedom. M. L. King. 485; Struggle to unite Europe. A. J. Zurcher. 406; Systematic sociology. K. Mannheim. 312

Teamsters union. R. D. Leiter. 260; Tension of citizenship. H. M. Roeofs. 310; Their brothers' keepers. P. Friedman. 186; Theory and reality in public international law. C. deVisscher, P. E. Corbet. 404; Titoism—pattern for international communism. C. P. McVicker. 280; Together in marriage. G. J. Kane. 135; To God through marriage. G. J. Schnepp. A. F. Schnepp. 307; Trends in social work, 1874-1956. F. J. Bruno, L. Towley. 310; Twenty centuries of church and state. S. Z. Ehler. 307

Understanding minority groups. J. B. Gitterer, ed. 83; United Nations and economic and social cooperation. Asher, Kotschnig, Brown and assoc. 40; U.S.A. in new dimensions. T. R. Carskadon, G. Soule. 142

Voluntary health insurance in two cities. O. W. Anderson and the National Opinion Research Center. 142

Wealth and poverty of nations. G. Crowther. 310; Why democracies fall. N. L. Stamps. 443; Why we behave like Americans. B. Smith. 187; With all deliberate speed. D. Shoemaker, ed. 83; World crisis and the Catholic. Second World Congress for the Lay Apostolate. 406; World of David Dunbinsky. M. D. Danish. 179

Yearbook of the United Nations—1956. 138; Yonder one world. F. Moraes. 256; Yugoslavia. Mid-European Studies Center Series. 405

#### BOWLES, Chester

Letters. 359

#### BRENNAN, James J.

Letters. 47

#### BRITAIN

West Indian Federation. D. J. Judah. 59

#### BROWN, Leo C.

Catholic social action. 316

Economic future of medical practice. 269

Trade unionism appraised. 394

Letters. 359, 399, 455, 456

#### BROWN, William E.

Letters. 302

#### BUCHHEIT, R. H.

Letters. 455

#### BUCKLEY, Louis F.

Letters. 144

#### BULLARD, D. A.

Letters. 301

#### BURKE, Edmund

Natural law statesman. J. C. H. Wu. 445

#### BUSINESS

Letters. 92, 189

#### CAPITALISM

Schumpeter and Catholic thought. W. A. Hayes. 21

#### CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES—NCWC

... just a few things. E. D. 97

#### CHARRIERE, Bishop Francois

Letters. 44, 191, 192

#### CHILDRESS, Richard J.

Supreme Court, 1957-1958. 336

Letters. 45, 46, 94, 95, 96, 144

#### CLARK, Colin

Fires of envy. 206

#### CLAYTON, W. L.

Letters. 303

#### COLLINS, James

Catholic-Protestant tensions. 441

**COLONIES**  
 Decolonization. M. P. Fogarty. 15  
 . . . just a few things. E. D. 1  
 West Indian Federation. D. J. Judah. 59

**COMMUNISM**  
 On revisiting Europe. K. v. Schuschnigg. 2  
 Views on communism and the Soviet Union.  
 L. E. Dobriansky, G. Grosschmid, S. L.  
 Levitsky, N. D. Roodkowsky, C. A. Zebot.  
 280

**COMMUTING**  
 New patterns in American commuting.  
 N. P. Hurley. 343

**CONNELL, Francis J.**  
 Letters. 46

**CORRIGAN, Francis J.**  
 Lessons from the recession. 458  
 Letters. 92, 189

**COUNCIL OF EUROPE**  
 Council of Europe. C. C. Walton. 66

**CRANE, Paul**  
 Politics as primary. 220

**CREDIT UNIONS**  
 Letters. 46

**CRUIKSHANK, Nelson H.**  
 Letters. 359

**CULTURE**  
 Human resource. J. F. Ewing. 419  
 Social background of religious and  
 laity. J. H. Fichter. 168  
 Social change in Africa. W. H. Lewis,  
 J. Bennett. 387

**DELANEY, John P.**  
 . . . just a few things. E. D. 145

**DELINQUENCY**  
 Letters. 47

**DEPRECIATION**  
 Letters. 92, 189

**DE SORAS, A.**  
 Letters. 91

**DOBRIANSKY, Lev E.**  
 Views on communism and the Soviet Union.  
 285

**DOLAN, Mary**  
 Letters. 143

**D'SOUZA, Jerome**  
 Spiritual forces in Asian politics. 298

**DUFF, Edward**  
 Boston's St. Joseph Retreat League. 265  
 Elements of the farm problem. 361  
 Introducing a symposium. 193  
 Postscript. 246  
 Protestant ethical perspectives. 487  
 Social action movement. 313  
 Wilfrid Parsons: an appreciation. 104

**DUNSFORD, John E.**  
 Supreme Court, 1957-1958. 336  
 Letters. 45, 46, 94, 95, 96, 144

**ECONOMICS**  
 Catholic social action. L. C. Brown. 316  
 Coping with agricultural abundance. T. W.  
 Schultz. 368  
 Elements of the farm problem. E. Duff. 361  
 Facing our economic problems. W. F. Ken-  
 nedy. 323  
 Lessons from the recession. F. J. Corrigan.  
 458  
 Schumpeter and Catholic thought. W. A.  
 Hayes. 21  
 Social action in the affluent society.  
 V. C. Ferkiss. 330  
 Statement of policy. National Catholic Rural  
 Life Conference. 383  
 U. S. agriculture: problem and choices.  
 J. K. Galbraith. 376

**EDUCATION**  
 Community survey: college style. E. A.  
 Kurth. 157

Social ascent of Catholics. J. Kosa,  
 J. F. Nash. 98  
 Training of social scientists. J. H.  
 Fichter. 294  
 Letters. 302, 359

**ETHICS**  
 Ethics and social sciences. P. A.  
 Montavon. 31

**EUROPE**  
 Council of Europe. C. C. Walton. 66  
 On revisiting Europe. K. v. Schuschnigg. 2  
 Pius XII and European union. D. Wolf. 473

**EWING, J. Franklin**  
 Human resource. 419

**FAMILY**  
 Status of the aged. R. Hart, P. P. Harbrecht.  
 123

**FERKISS, Victor C.**  
 Catholics, liberals, democrats. 433  
 Social action in the affluent society. 330  
 Letters. 455, 456

**FERRING, R. L.**  
 Letters. 302

**FICHTER, Joseph H.**  
 Social background of religious and  
 laity. 168  
 Training of social scientists. 294

**FITCH, John A.**  
 Letters. 143

**FOEHRENBACH, Arthur J.**  
 Letters. 263

**FOGARTY, Michael P.**  
 Letters. 91, 191

**FOREIGN AID**  
 Call for world economic community. P. S.  
 Land. 217  
 Catholic social action. L. C. Brown. 316  
 Distribution of wealth. J. M. Paul. 207  
 Duties to underdeveloped countries. L. H.  
 Janssen. 197  
 Economics as primary. V. Salera. 226  
 Facing our economic problems. W. F.  
 Kennedy. 323  
 Fires of envy. C. Clark. 206  
 Introducing a symposium. E. Duff. 193  
 Modalities of aid. P. Laurent. 240  
 New orientation of economics. F. M.  
 Vito. 237  
 Politics as primary. P. Crane. 220  
 Postscript. E. Duff. 246  
 Problems in international law. D. John-  
 son. 214  
 Role of voluntary agencies. E. E. Swan-  
 strom. 232  
 Social function of ownership. J. L. Vizard.  
 234  
 Terms need analysis. T. H. Mahony. 212  
 Letters. 301, 302, 359, 360

**FOREIGN TRADE**  
 Foreign trade: challenge to Americans. J. L.  
 Vizard. 146  
 Letters. 302, 303

**GALBRAITH, John K.**  
 U. S. agriculture: problem and choices. 376  
 Letters. 455

**GEANEY, Dennis J.**  
 Letters. 455

**GEARTY, Patrick W.**  
 Letters. 189

**GERMANY**  
 German Catholics and labor. F. Baerwald. 163  
 On revisiting Europe. K. v. Schuschnigg. 2  
 Letters. 143

**GERONTOLOGY**  
 Status of the aged. R. Hart, P. P. Harbrecht.  
 123

**GOVERNMENT**  
 Catholic social action. L. C. Brown. 316  
 Coping with agricultural abundance. T. W.  
 Schultz. 368

## SOCIAL ORDER

Dictatorship versus democracy. K. v. Schuschnigg. 443

Elements of the farm problem. E. Duff. 361

Statement of policy. National Catholic Rural Life Conference. 383

**GREEN, John Raeburn**  
Letters. 95

**GROSSSCHMID, Geza**  
Views on communism and the Soviet Union. 288

**GRUENBERG, Gladys W.**  
Union monopoly? 117

**HARBRECHT, Paul P.**  
Property in transition. 50

Status of the aged. 123

Letters. 189

**HART, Ed**  
Letters. 359

**HART, Robert**  
Status of the aged. 123

**HAYES, William A.**  
Schumpeter and Catholic thought. 21

Letters. 91, 144, 189

**HENNINGS, Thomas C. Jr.**  
Letters. 96

**HIGGINS, George G.**  
Letters. 456

**HUMAN RIGHTS**  
... just a few things. E. D. 457

Popes on minority rights. Sr. Frances Jerome Woods. 465

**HURLEY, Neil P.**  
New patterns in American commuting. 343

**HURLEY, Philip S.**  
Montgomery story. 485

**INFLATION**  
Letters. 92

**INTER-GROUP RELATIONS**  
... just a few things. E. D. 49

**JANSSEN, Leon H.**  
Duties to underdeveloped countries. 197

Letters. 359

**JOHNSON, David**  
Problems in international law. 214

**JUDAH, D. J.**  
West Indian Federation. 59

**KENNEDY, William F.**  
Facing our economic problems. 323

Letters. 455, 456

**KIRWAN, J. R.**  
Letters. 44, 192

**KOSA, John**  
Social ascent of Catholics. 98

Letters. 263

**KURTH, Edmund A.**  
Community survey: college style. 157

Letters. 302, 359

**LABOR-MANAGEMENT**  
Labor at the polls. F. X. Quinn. 412

Property in transition. P. P. Harbrecht. 50

**LAMB, James J.**  
Automation: its effects. 426

**LAND, Philip S.**  
Call for world economic community. 217

**LATCHFORD, Stephen F.**  
Letters. 143, 189

**LAURENT, Philippe**  
Modalities of aid. 240

**LEVITSKY, Serge L.**  
Views on communism and the Soviet Union. 291

**LEWIS, William H.**  
Social change in Africa. 387

**LIVING WAGE**  
Letters. 44

**MAHONY, Thomas H.**  
Terms need analysis. 212

**MAMER, John W.**  
Letters. 47

**MARSHALL, Daniel G.**  
Letters. 45

**MAYER, Milton**  
Letters. 95

**MCCORKEL, Roy**  
Letters. 302

**McNAMARA, Patrick H.**  
Letters. 47

**MEDICINE**  
Economic future of medical practice.  
L. C. Brown. 269

Letters. 359

**MIGRANTS**  
Letters. 47

**MIGRATION**  
On revisiting Europe. K. v. Schuschnigg. 2

**MONTAVON, Paul A.**  
Ethics and social sciences. 31

Letters. 192

**MUENCH, Archbishop A. J.**  
Letters. 46

**NASH, John F.**  
Social ascent of Catholics. 98

Letters. 263

**NASON, John W.**  
Letters. 360

**NATIONAL CATHOLIC RURAL LIFE CONFERENCE**  
Statement of policy. 383

**PARSONS, Wilfrid**  
Wilfrid Parsons: an appreciation. E.  
Duff. 104

**PAUL, John M.**  
Distribution of wealth. 207

**PENSION FUNDS**  
Property in transition. P. P. Harbrecht. 50

Letters. 189

**PENSION PLANS**  
Status of the aged. R. Hart, P. P. Harbrecht.  
123

**POLITICS**  
Catholics, liberals, democrats. V. C. Ferkiss.  
433

Labor at the polls. F. X. Quinn. 412

**POPE PIUS XII**  
A great man dies. E. Duff. 409

Pius XII and European union. D. Wolf. 473

Popes on minority rights. Sr. Frances Jerome Woods. 465

**PROPERTY**  
Property in transition. P. P. Harbrecht. 50

**QUINN, Francis X.**  
Labor at the polls. 412

**RABKIN, Sol**  
Letters. 94

**RACE RELATIONS**  
Calm voices rise in the south. R. Bernard.  
74

Montgomery story. P. S. Hurley. 485

Letters. 143

**RADELET, Louis A.**  
Letters. 95

**RAHM, Harold J.**  
Letters. 47

**REFUGEES**  
... just a few things. E. D. 97

Letters. 92

**RELIGION**  
Catholics, liberals, democrats. V. C.  
Ferkiss. 433

Catholic-Protestant tensions. J. Collins.  
441

Protestant ethical perspectives. E. Duff. 487

Social ascent of Catholics. J. Kosa, J. F. Nash. 98  
 Social action in the affluent society. V. C. Ferkiss. 330

**RETREAT LEAGUE**  
 Boston's St. Joseph Retreat League. E. Duff. 265

**RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS**  
 Letters. 143

**ROEPKE, William**  
 Letters. 143

**ROOKOWSKY, Nikita D.**  
 Views on communism and the Soviet Union. 284

**SALERI, Virgil**  
 Economics as primary. 226  
 Letters. 301, 399

**SCHALASNY, R.**  
 Letters. 91

**SCHMIDLEIN, Edward J., Jr.**  
 Letters. 92. 189

**SCHULTZ, Theodore W.**  
 Coping with agricultural abundance. 368

**SHUMPETER, Joseph A.**  
 Schumpeter and Catholic thought. W. A. Hayes. 21  
 Letters. 91, 144, 189

**SCHUSCHNIGG, Kurt von**  
 Dictatorship versus democracy. 443  
 On revisiting Europe. 2  
 Letters. 92, 143

**SEGREGATION**  
 Supreme Court, 1957-1958. R. J. Childress, J. E. Dunsford. 336

**SOCIAL ACTION MOVEMENT**  
 Catholic social action. L. C. Brown. 316  
 . . . just a few things. E. D. 313  
 Social action in the affluent society. V. C. Ferkiss. 330  
 Letters. 455, 456

**SOCIAL JUSTICE**  
 Ethics and social sciences. P. A. Mon-tavon. 31

**SOUTH**  
 Calm voices rise in the south. R. Bernard. 74  
 Letters. 143  
 Montgomery story. P. S. Hurley. 485

**SUPREME COURT**  
 Supreme Court, 1957-1958. R. J. Childress.

J. E. Dunsford. 336  
 Letters. 45, 46, 94, 95, 96, 144

**SWANSTROM, Edward E.**  
 Role of voluntary agencies. 232

**UNIONS**  
 Automation: its effects. J. J. Lamb. 426  
 Economic future of medical practice. L. C. Brown. 269  
 Facing our economic problems. W. F. Kennedy. 323  
 German Catholics and labor. F. Baerwald. 163  
 Labor at the polls. F. X. Quinn. 412  
 Trade unionism appraised. L. C. Brown. 394  
 Union monopoly? G. W. Gruenberg. 117  
 Letters. 143, 399

**URBAN LIFE**  
 Community survey: college style. E. A. Kurth. 157  
 New patterns in American community. N. P. Hurley. 343

**VITO, Francesco M.**  
 New orientation of economics. 237

**VIZZARD, James L.**  
 Foreign trade: challenge to Americans. 146  
 Social function of ownership. 234  
 Letters. 302, 303, 359

**VOLUNTARY ACTION, CRS—NCWC**  
 . . . just a few things. E. D. 97

**VOORHIS, Jerry**  
 Letters. 302

**WAGES**  
 Letters. 191, 192

**WALTON, Clarence C.**  
 Council of Europe. 66

**WEST INDIES**  
 West Indian Federation. D. J. Judah. 59

**WITTE, Edwin E.**  
 Letters. 192

**WOLF, Donald**  
 Pius XII and European union. 473

**WOODS, Sister Frances Jerome, C.D.P.**  
 Popes on minority rights. 465

**WU, John C. H.**  
 Natural law statesman. 445

**ZEBOT, Cyril A.**  
 Views on communism and the Soviet Union. 280

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